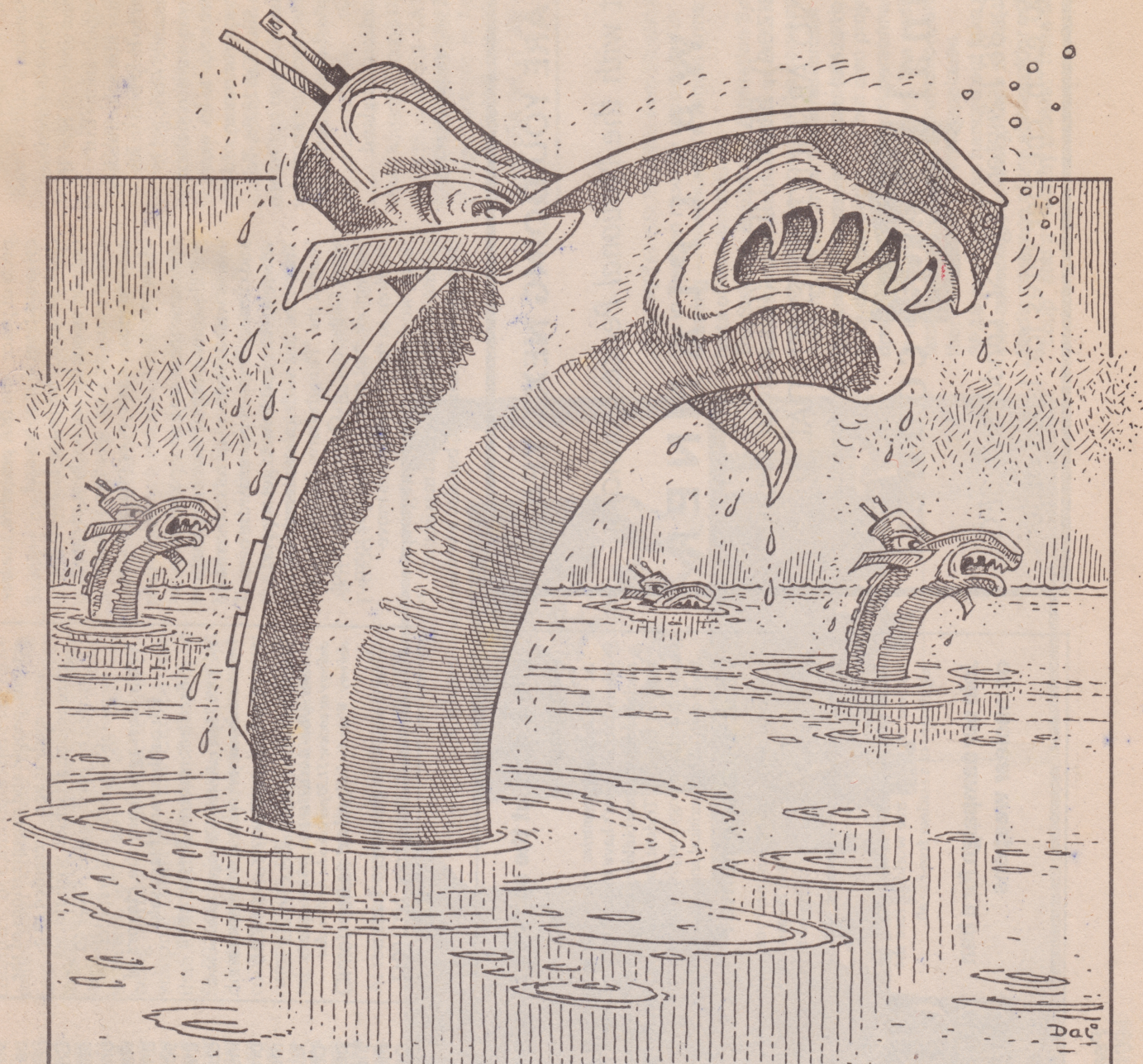


# Peace News

In cooperation with  
War Resisters' International

for nonviolent revolution

No 2384 November 1994 Monthly 80 pence



## THE UNDEAD

DAI OWEN

Now showing at a submarine base near you... the Anglo-American Trident nuclear submarine programme refuses to die, with not only the British government sticking by its commitment to four subs but the US government steaming ahead with its plans to build a total of 18 Tridents. Inside, ILANA CRAVITZ looks at the defence issue the political parties would prefer to ignore, while the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament prepares for its 29 October demo in London — its biggest nuclear protest in years.



# Peace News

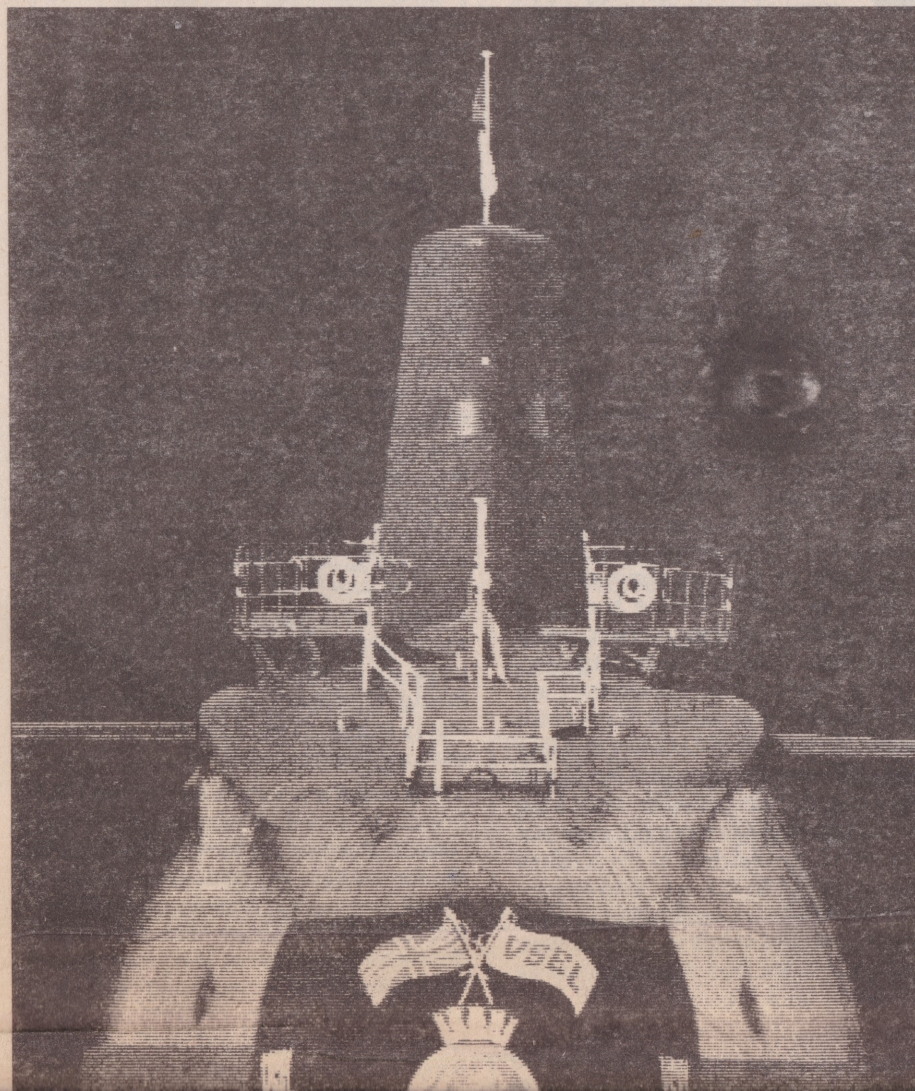
for nonviolent revolution No 2384 November 1994

## Why nukes are today's issue

Nuclear issues have had a high profile worldwide over the past 12 months: with the panic over North Korea's possible nuclear capability, plutonium leaking out of sites in the former Soviet Union, and continued testing in China (which carried out its second nuclear explosion of the year on 7 October). But it seems Britain's nuclear programme has been ignored in the process. In the run-up to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's national demo on 29 October, CND information worker ILANA CRAVITZ makes the links.

**CND is convinced that one of the first results of an honest appraisal would be unilateral disarmament by the UK. Far from being an old-fashioned idea, it is the only one that makes sense in today's changed international order.**

With the end of the Cold War, the "stable deterrence relationship" established between east and west has, thankfully, been broken down. However, this has left a vacuum where the justification for having nuclear weapons used to be. The UK's new explanation for why we need to spend over £1 million per day on the Trident system (384 warheads each with 10 times the destructive power of the Hiroshima bomb) is that the future is



tions for the next generation, and will certainly have a major influence of the future of nuclear disarmament — or lack of it.

So what is the response of the UK's three main political parties to ensure the British public realises the importance of 1995 and the danger that Trident poses to non-proliferation?

No surprises from the Conservatives: we need Trident to deter anyone who might do anything we don't like. If they're mad it might not work (we admit it), but that won't make us stop. The NPT needs unconditional extension, even though it's not controlling proliferation very effectively, and we certainly don't think that our commitment to disarmament is relevant at this time.

The Labour Party Conference came out against Trident, but the leadership is unlikely to take up the issue. In fact, the leadership is at one with the Tories on indefinite and unconditional extension of the NPT.

The Liberal Democrats, supported by Menzies Campbell MP (their defence and foreign affairs spokesperson), voted to press for a ten-year NPT extension linked to negotiation on a new treaty to ban all nuclear weapons, although there is no change on the "keep Trident" position.

The lack of political debate about British nuclear weapons is reflected by complacency in the general population. This is unsurprising, given that no-one on the



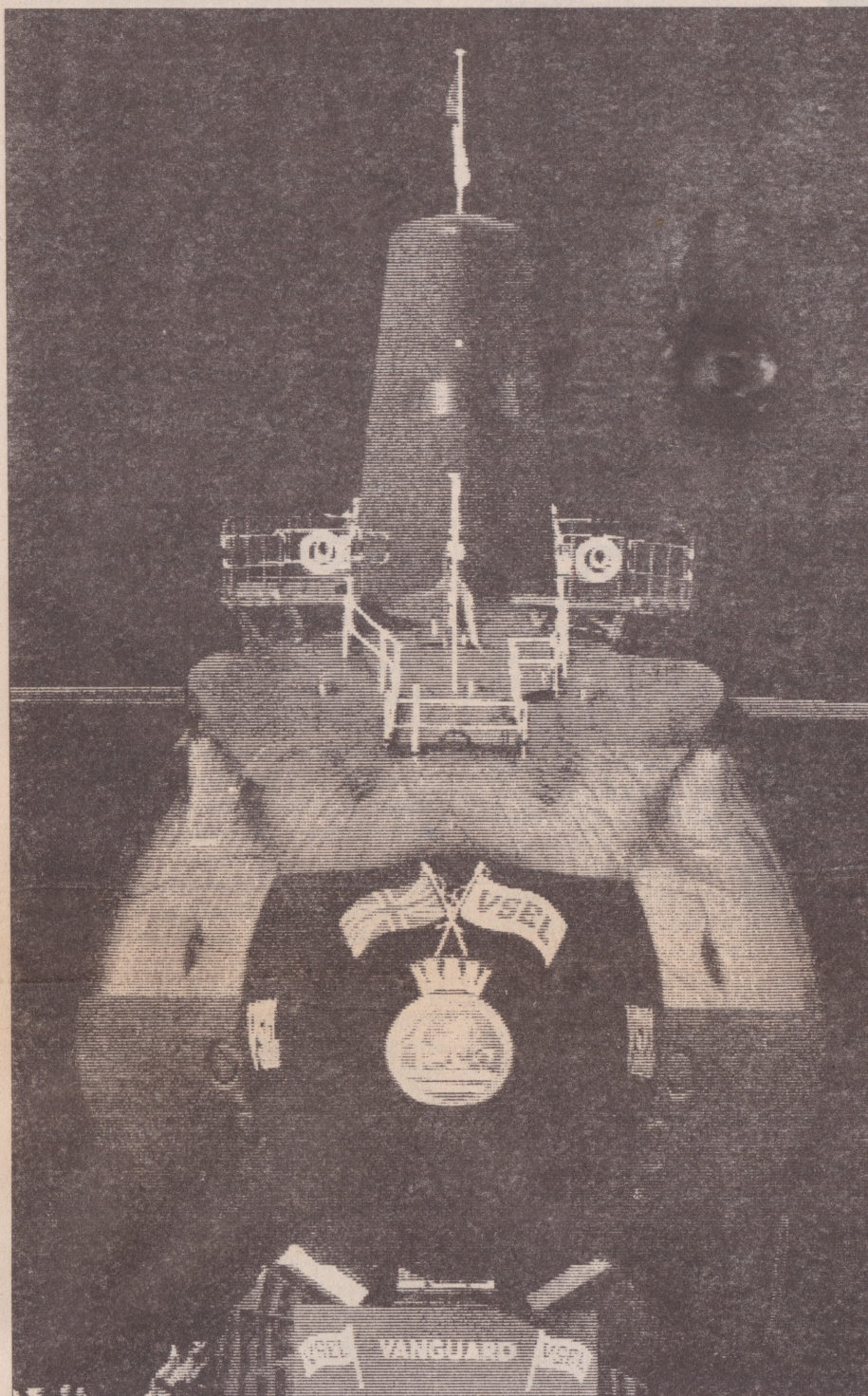
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But the problem goes further than the UK having a quite a few redundant nuclear weapons sitting around whose targets, they claim, are the open sea. Apart from the dangers posed by their regular trips around the country on public roads, the warheads threaten the very international non-proliferation objectives that the three main political parties claim to support.

Twenty-five years ago the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was set up, intended to remain in existence only long enough to bring about disarmament. Next April the Treaty comes up for renewal, demonstrating that it has not



The launching of HMS Vanguard, Barrow-in-Furness, 1992.

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Having said that, informed members of the public are starting to demand that their MPs talk about proliferation. Nearly 200 MPs have signed two Early Day Motions on testing and proliferation. CND's Lobby network is working hard, while activity on the ground is growing.

CND's "Nuclear-Free World or Nuclear Free-For-All?" march will leave Temple under-



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The other 159 states are not particularly keen on this idea, since most have honoured the Treaty by not trying to acquire a nuclear capability. They are now de-



The launching of HMS Vanguard, Barrow-in-Furness, 1992.

manding evidence that the nuclear states are taking their obligations equally seriously, rather than using the NPT as leverage to maintain the status quo.

This is where the UK Government comes steaming sensitively in with the deployment over the next couple of months of Trident, a system designed for the Cold War, necessary to protect undefined "British interests" outside territorial boundaries.

This is a major act of proliferation and contempt for the NPT. Not only will it set some non-nuclear states wondering whether they are the next target, but it demonstrates quite clearly that the UK thinks nuclear weapons are essential to protect the military and political interests (let alone any other ones) of a small island nation. A case of what's sauce for the goose...?

The outcome of next year's NPT conference may influence north-south rela-

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CND's "Nuclear-Free World or Nuclear Free-For-All?" march will leave Temple underground station at 12pm on Saturday 29 October. It will be the first major public gathering after the Criminal Justice Bill becomes law. Speakers at the Rally in Trafalgar Square at 1.30pm will emphasise how essential peaceful protest is to CND's effective campaigning. For details of regional transport to the event, leaflets, posters, educational materials, press releases: Ilana Cravitz at CND, 162 Holloway Rd, London N7 8DQ (0171 700 2350)

## Peace News

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Deadlines for PN 2385 (available 18 Nov)

Display and classified ads	7 November
Events	9 November
News and letters	9 November
Packing	Tues 15 November

Deadlines for PN 2386 (available 9 Dec)

Display and classified ads	28 November
Events	30 November
News and letters	30 November
Packing	Tues 6 December

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## Defending the indiscriminate

PETER MOSZYNSKI

■ A rag claiming to be "Britain's oldest, privately circulated newsletter" somehow made its way to a Nutshell compiler in Belfast. He was astounded to read the *Fleet Street Letter's* "14 amazing predictions" for the next 16 years. Prediction number 14 was headed "Poverty terrorists" and notes that "alienation and deprivation of countries will lead to terrorism and crime on the part of nations". Assuming that it's going to be the *impoverished* nations committing the crimes, the *FSL* editors' advice is simple: invest in security devices. Or to paraphrase only slightly: "Do something about poverty and violence: make money out of it!"

■ Perhaps some of Northern Ireland's MPs get their foreign policy ideas from the *Fleet Street Letter*. Two of their number, Roy Beggs (UUP, Antrim E) and Cecil Walker (UUP, Belfast N) recently joined Patrick Nicholls (Con, Jakarta Central) on an exhaustive tour of East Timor and Indonesia. Sensibly, Beggs and Walker kept a lower profile than the irrepressible Nicholls, who recommended that the Indonesian government recruit more Timorese into its armed forces — "there are now only 200 Northern Ireland separatists left" because the authorities had encouraged local people to join the army.

Nicholls' geopolitical instincts could be a bit uncomfortable for his Ulster Unionist fellow-tourists, however. The *Indonesian Observer* quoted the visiting Tory MP as saying it was "only natural" if the "East Timorese people" wanted to join their brothers in other parts of Indonesia "since geographically East Timor is part of Indonesia".

■ The Nobel Committees managed to get things at least partly right this year, awarding the prize for literature to Kenzaburo Oe of Japan. Oe is not

**Governments are currently preparing for the formal review of international legislation on landmines in September 1995. However, the work going on behind the scenes in the run-up to January's final preparatory conference in Geneva is often very different from public pronouncements on the subject. There is now considerable fear that Protocol II to the Weapons Convention — the ineffectual existing document on the use of landmines — will be watered down, rather than strengthened, by this review process.**

The real objection to land mines (in particular, anti-personnel mines, which represent the greatest threat to civilians) is their indiscriminate and persistent nature. Rae McGrath, director of the Mines Advisory Group, a specialist agency working to build an indigenous demining capacity in various mine-afflicted countries, explains: "Unlike bombs or artillery shells, a landmine lies dormant until a person, vehicle or animal triggers its firing mechanism. Landmines are blind weapons that cannot distinguish between the footfall of a soldier and that of an old woman carrying firewood. They recognise no ceasefire and, long after the fighting has stopped, they can maim or kill the children of the soldiers who laid them." In Poland, 30 to 40 people were killed annually by Second World War mines as late as 1977, despite the fact that more than 25 million mines had already been cleared.

Landmines have left a horrific scar across much of the third world. They are a serious humanitarian problem in 34

UN General Assembly in September this year, US president Bill Clinton committed his government to the control of anti-personnel mines: "Today I am proposing a first step towards the eventual elimination or a low-visible, but still deadly threat: the world's 85 million anti-personnel landmines — one for every 50 people on the face of the Earth. I ask all nations to join with us and conclude an agreement to reduce the number and availability of these mines. Ridding the world of these often hidden weapons will help to save the lives of tens of thousands of men and women and innocent children in the years to come."

There is now a growing rift between countries that favour a total ban and those, such as Britain, that wish to see the continual deployment and sale of supposedly more humane self-deactivating systems and more advanced packages that circumvent the provisions altogether. The current US administration has been comparatively vocal against landmines: the State Department described them as "perhaps the most toxic and widespread pollution facing mankind" and the Senate recently extended by three years a unilateral one year moratorium.

Yet it is not evident whether the USA favours a total ban or a gradualist approach. Rae McGrath, who has been at the forefront of the International Landmine Campaign, commented "I'd like to see Clinton to follow that up with a definitive statement as to whether or not the USA is considering a complete ban. Moratoriums are, by their nature, only temporary. Is the United States going to support Sweden's calls for a total ban on

about the Geneva process: "Based on the discussions at the preparatory conferences, the review conference is not going to make a stronger law but a weaker one: as usual, everyone is guarding their own vested interests. The campaign against landmines is going increasingly to focus its attention to people in the street".

There is a strong possibility that the necessity for compromise will mean that the review conference may end up with a weaker Protocol. The British Government's position is typically equivocal: in July it announced a unilateral ban on the export of "dumb" anti-personnel mines (which Britain no longer produces) but allowed the continued export of self-destructing and self-disarming system. Advocates of a total ban point out that most self-disabling types have a huge failure rate of 10-25 per cent, and that in Laos, civilians are still being killed by US air-dropped scatterable mines that were due to have disarmed themselves some twenty-five years earlier.

### Area denial

Another loophole increasingly exploited by advanced weapons manufacturing countries is the use of high tech weaponry such as sub-munitions and certain "area denial" and anti-handling devices. While not falling into existing definitions of prohibited items, their effect on civilians is often the same.

Britain specifically excluded air-delivered systems from its export moratorium. However, many developing countries are likely to object to a measure that prevents the use of their existing technology yet permits advanced countries to continue developing, de-



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Landmines have left a horrific scar across much of the third world. They are a serious humanitarian problem in 34 countries. In Cambodia there are more mines than people, and they are being laid faster than being cleared. Technological advances mean they are becoming cheaper, more complex and harder to detect, and easier to lay. They are being increasingly manufactured in developing countries. They can cost less than US\$6 each to buy, and as much as \$1,000 each to remove. Large scale demining is urgently required in many countries, an expensive business that campaigners are calling on a levy on mine exporting countries to pay for.

### Clinton comes on line

At the opening of the 49th session of the

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Existing international law on the control of landmines is relatively powerless and confused on the subject, especially as much modern use of mines is within civil conflicts, where few international restrictions are enforced. The 1995 Review Conference is due to examine the working of the 1980 Protocol on Prohibitions on the Use of Mines, Booby Traps and Other Devices (Protocol II to the Weapons Convention), which most people agree has failed to prevent their trade and use.

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During the Geneva process, it is vitally important to ensure that governments such as Britain's do not block measures to tighten Protocol II and its strictures against the use of indiscriminate and persistent weapons.

However, anything less than a total ban is likely to achieve little. The international community must also be prepared to find the funds for much needed demining operations in some of the worst affected areas if there is to be any meaningful reduction in the deadly legacy of landmines.

Mines Advisory Group 54A Main Street, Coker-mouth, Cumbria CA13 3LU (tel 0900 828580/688; fax 0900 827088)

Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation, 2001 'S' St NW, suite 740, Washington DC 20009 USA (tel +1 202 483 9222; fax 483 9312)

En slottet väntar av

Celsius produkter





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*JENS PETERSSON writes from Stockholm: Peace activists in Sweden recently succeeded in telling — and showing — the country's largest arms company the effects of their landmines.*

The Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society (SPAS) bought one share in Celsius so as to be able to demand the right to speak at the company's annual meeting. SPAS arms trade researcher Lars Jederlund (in photo, extreme left) managed not only to speak from the front of the hall but also project slides of children maimed by Bofors anti-personnel mines (Bofors is now a Celsius subsidiary). The auditorium was silent as Lars made his presentation, and afterwards there was some nervous applause.

SPAS members also handed out fake annual reports and asked other shareholders to sell their holdings. Media coverage of the shareholder action called it a "coup" and a "worthy protest" from SPAS.



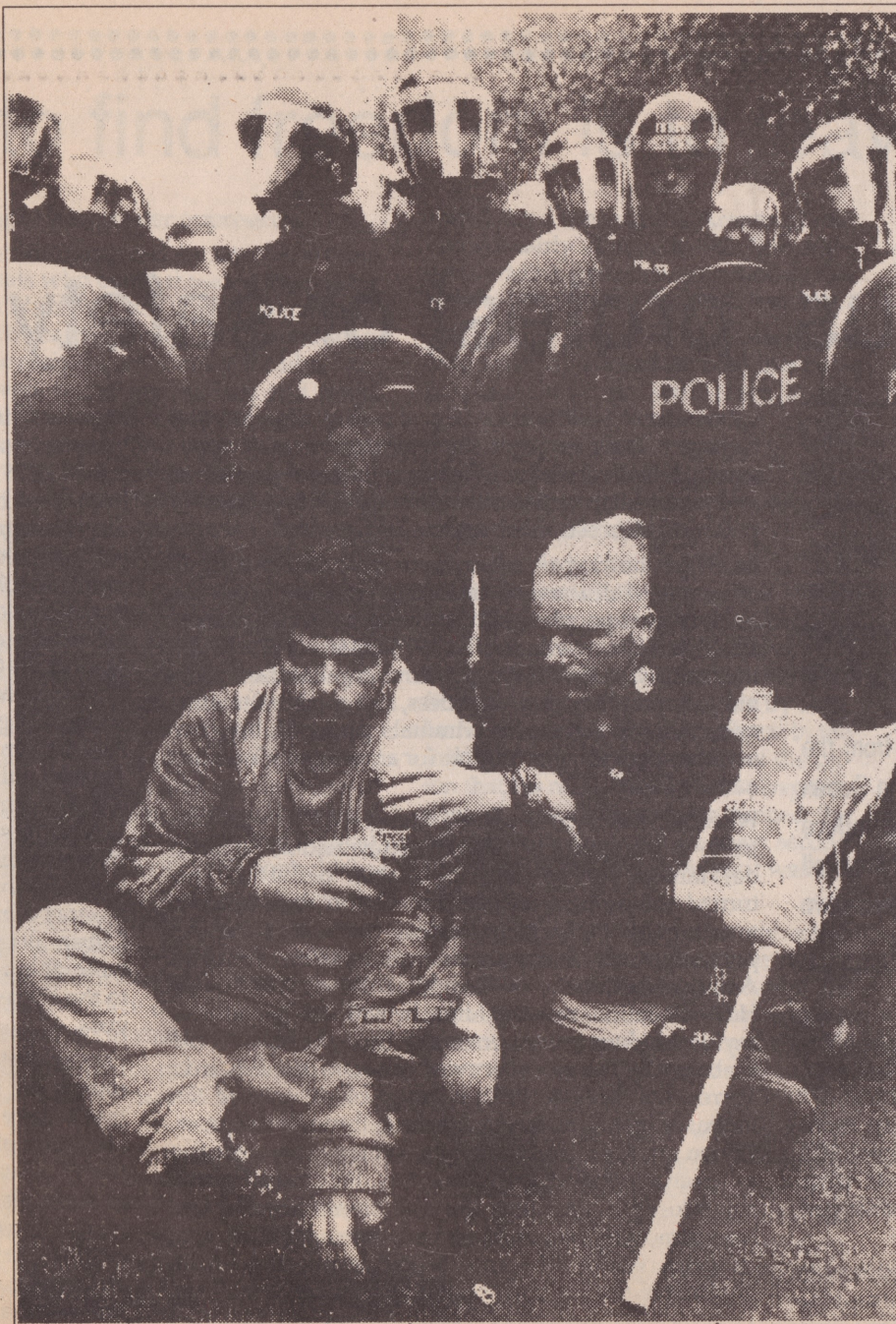
## Diary of a demo

PAUL MATSSON

The Criminal Justice Bill will soon pass Third Reading in Parliament and become law. In anticipation, the Freedom Network and other groups called a national demo for Sunday 9 October. In the days that followed, press and politicians — especially the Conservatives, gathered at Bournemouth for their conference — were eager to condemn the violence which followed the demo. No surprise that they overlooked the point of the protest itself: the right to gather, to protest, to celebrate. JEFF CLOVES went on the march, and sends this diary.

● Cycle up to Charing Cross embankment for anti-Criminal Justice Bill demonstration. Utter confusion as police vainly try to organise the unorganisable and march fails to move off at noon. Obvious sensible thing to do is let march go but Powers that Be seem paralysed.

Turnout is wondrous; more dreadlocks than you can shake a comb at and more dogs on string than you can shake a bone at. Youngest demo since Aldermaston marches? Around 1.30, police finally let us go and column moves off.



A pause in Hyde Park on 9 October. More protest is planned on the day the Criminal Justice Bill becomes law: read the dailies or listen to the radio to find out when. The No M11 Link road protest in east London will be holding an all-day direct action event on the day — which will begin legal and become illegal, without the protesters doing anything different. No M11 Link (0181 558 2628)

## War tax resistance: a right or a duty?

DOMINIQUE SAILLARD

● Is war tax resistance a human right? This question led to one of the most animated debates at the Fifth International Conference on War Tax Resistance and Peace Tax Campaigns.

Hosted by the Asamblea de Objeción Fiscal de Navarra, the Conference welcomed over 60 participants, mostly from Europe and North America, to the Basque town of Hondarribia. A lot of time was devoted to small group discussions in several series of workshops on topics ranging from legislation, lobbying for peace tax legislation, and the role of religious bodies in war tax resistance to looking at the new role of militaries in UN peacekeeping operations and discussing the forms a human right to war tax resistance might take.

The human rights debate illustrated some of the differences in the approaches followed by tax resisters. Some participants were uncomfortable with pushing for the recognition of war tax resistance (WTR) as a human right, because they felt legalisation would lessen the impact of what is now a civil disobedience act, and could even ulti-



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At Hyde Park, riff-raff disperse — some to listen to speeches, some to rave to



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● Is war tax resistance a human right? This question led to one of the most animated debates at the Fifth International Conference on War Tax Resistance and Peace Tax Campaigns.

Hosted by the Asamblea de Objeción Fiscal de Navarra, the Conference welcomed over 60 participants, mostly from Europe and North America, to the Basque town of Hondarribia. A lot of time was devoted to small group discussions in several series of workshops on topics ranging from legislation, lobbying for peace tax legislation, and the role of religious bodies in war tax resistance to looking at the new role of militaries in UN peacekeeping operations and discussing the forms a human right to war tax resistance might take.

The human rights debate illustrated some of the differences in the approaches followed by tax resisters. Some participants were uncomfortable with pushing for the recognition of war tax resistance (WTR) as a human right, because they felt legalisation would lessen the impact of what is now a civil disobedience act, and could even ultimately contribute to legitimising continued military expenditures. For the recognition of WTR as a human right to prove really useful, they argued, it was

Fund for peace



than you can shake a comb at and in the dogs on string than you can shake a bone at. Youngest demo since Aldermaston marches? Around 1.30, police finally let us go and column moves off. Demonic crescendo of whistles and shrieks under Hungerford Bridge is a howl of alienation from all-party political creed of our time:

*Get back to basics take true aim  
single mothers are to blame  
and those who stand against us will  
face the Criminal Justice Bill  
surveillance cameras ID cards  
armed police local council guards  
telephone taps and opened mail  
all human rights are up for sale.*

At its conference, the Party that Dare not Speak its Name was os concerned with the plight of middle management that it ignored these demonstrators. I'm at one with the riff-raff myself and fate of those being courted by all three parties concerns me not. As they agonise over whether to spend their disposable look on a conservatory, private health, a nanny, or a weekend cottage somewhere nice, the assembled ravers, squatters, travellers, roads protesters, and animal rights activists here are about to be criminalised.

Wheel bike along Piccadilly and fall in behind animal rights banner. Their passionate concern always puts me in mind of Blake's couplet *A robin redbreast in a cage/ puts all heaven in a rage*. I rage myself. There was a housing crisis at the end of the Second World War; 50 years on, it's still with us. Outrageous that people trying to solve their own housing problems should be despised by politicians. Worse, when Criminal Justice Bill is given nod by Our Greatest Landowner, they will become criminals.

This demo mirrors society. Our politicians are always telling us that issues are not black and white but I hold to this absolute: you can only have the very rich at the expense of the very poor.

**A pause in Hyde Park on 9 October. More protest is planned on the day the Criminal Justice Bill becomes law: read the dailies or listen to the radio to find out when. The No M11 Link road protest in east London will be holding an all-day direct action event on the day — which will begin legal and become illegal, without the protesters doing anything different. No M11 Link (0181 558 2638).**

At Hyde Park, riff-raff disperse — some to listen to speeches, some to rave to music from pedal-powered sound system, some to dance to sound of not-so-distant drums. More drummers than you can shake a stick at, and — in line of police vans beyond — more riot shields than you can shake a brick at.

Miss speech (wildly optimistic?) from Tony Benn, but Debbie Saunders of Advance Party delivers joyless lecture about raves and young black ranter delivers passionate-joyless-fluent commercial for Socialist Workers Party without taking breath. Irish politico urges "armed insurrection" (!) and after rapturously received Arthur Scargill, bloke wanders on looking like John Sebastian at Woodstock and preaches like Allen Ginsberg. Sermon is joyful variant of '60s style *tune in, turn on, drop out*. He's talking rave music but I hear metaphor. Leaves us with parting "Blessed be!" and is cheered to echo.


Leave around 5pm. Two or three camp fires burning (made from placards) as homeless appear to be squatting Hyde Park. All exits to Park Lane closed and riff-raff are taunting police across the barriers. Eventually exit at Speaker's Corner and get home to learn idealism, desperation, and simmering rage have been confronted by State and boiled over.

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Freedom Network, c/o Cool Tan, Coldharbour Lane, London SW2 (0171 738 6721)  
Travellers Support Group (01258 454563)  
National Council for Civil Liberties (Liberty) 21 Tabard St, London SE1 (0171 378 8659)  
Rinkydink Lighting ("solar, wind, and human powered PA and lighting"), Stroud, Glos (01285 760413)

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## Fund for peace emergencies

 **At times of an international crisis, it is natural for nonviolent activists to seek to develop an emergency response. Because this should draw on existing international networks, and in particular use the local expertise available through those networks, three pacifist internationals have started a joint fund which would allow an urgent response to be explored or launched.**

War Resisters' International, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Peace Brigades International took this proposal to the war tax meeting in Hondarribia (see article this page) where it was agreed as the peace tax movement's main international project for sponsorship over the next two years.

In 1992, tax resisters chose to support the work of the Sri Lanka project of Peace Brigades International. Over the following two years, almost \$20,000 was raised by peace tax organisations — in the main, through individuals redirecting their taxes — and donated to PBI.

The financial support offered by the war tax resistance organisations represented at the Conference should go a long way towards facilitating the setup of the fund, and helping present a much stronger case to other potential funders.

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Joint Contingency Fund, c/o War Resisters' International, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX, England (tel +44 171 278 4040; fax 278 0444; email warresisters@gn.apc.org). Donations to the Fund should be addressed to WRI.

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with pushing for the recognition of war tax resistance (WTR) as a human right, because they felt legalisation would lessen the impact of what is now a civil disobedience act, and could even ultimately contribute to legitimising continued military expenditures. For the recognition of WTR as a human right to prove really useful, they argued, it was necessary to avoid framing the notion of human right in purely individualistic, liberal, and westernised terms and to realise that demilitarisation was not just a matter of personal conscience, but also a matter of collective political responsibility.

Other Conference participants, however, argued strongly for the legal recognition of a conscientious right to war tax resistance in national and international law. Their position was best reflected in the launching of "Conscience and Peace Tax International" (CPTI), which will seek consultative status at the United Nations and lobby other international organisations in order to "obtain recognition of the right to conscientious objection to paying for armaments and war preparation through taxes". The organisation, with its head office in Belgium, will also support the struggle for the recognition of other conscientious objections and of human rights generally.

Although the decision to create this new body was taken at the previous International WTR Conference in Brussels in 1992, and its founding assembly met during this year's conference, the CPTI will act independently from the International WTR Conferences.

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A summary of the conference is in preparation; contact Pedro Otaduy, Asamblea de Objeción Fiscal de Navarra, Aptdo 1126, 31080 Iruñea, Navarra, state of Spain (tel/fax +34 48 210530) Conscience and Peace Tax International, Bruineveld 11, 3010 Leuven, Belgium Peace Tax Campaign, 6 Endsleigh St, London WC1H 0DX (0171 388 7986)

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## AGENDA


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### The Cuba crisis 1994:

# Mass exodus: protest or safety valve?

Between 19 August and 21 September 1994, 31,923 Cubans were picked off rafts in the Florida Straits by the US Coast Guard and taken to camps at Guantanamo Bay. To stop this mass exodus, the US and Cuban governments negotiated an agreement that assures a minimum of 20,000 Cubans will be legally allowed to emigrate to the US annually. In exchange, the Cuban government has agreed to crack down on illegal emigration.

The recent wave of Cuban migration resulted from the interplay of two forces: discontent among average Cuban citizens and Castro's need for a safety valve to reduce discontent and take some of the pressure for change off his regime. HOLLY ACKERMAN explores how these two factors contributed to the recent Cuban exodus.

 In early January 1994, I sat with a newly arrived *balsero* (rafter) at the Refugee Centre on Stock Island, Florida and asked him, "Was there a time things changed for you in Cuba?" The question was deliberately vague, leaving room for him to decide whether his was a consistent life experience and, if not, to define for himself what change is and how it occurred. His life changed abruptly in 1978.

Most US political histories of Cuba also tell us this year was significant. It was, both for my respondent and for US historians, the year of *el dialogo* (the dialogue), when Cuban exiles from Miami returned to the island for the first time to meet with Fidel Castro. These meetings paved the way for charter flights from Miami and the beginning of visits by Cuban-Americans. The material well-being of the exiles, our histories tell us, stunned

Castro sees it differently. By allowing discontented Cubans to leave en masse, he weakens domestic opposition, deflects attention away from internal problems, and refocuses it on the external issue of US immigration policy. He learned this from the 1980 exodus.

In 1979, following *el dialogo*, there were dramatic signs of increased discontent, including embassy break-ins in Havana as people sought amnesty in foreign embassies. Numbers rose from 25 in 1978 to 440 in 1979. It was the position of the Cuban government that these individuals were "lumpen" (shiftless, anti-social) elements, and therefore, common criminals under Cuban law and consequently not eligible for amnesty under international law.

When several of these people circled the Peruvian Embassy in the spring of 1980, the ambassador, Edgardo de Habich, agreed with the Cuban definition and turned the asylum-seekers out. Castro then called a meeting of all Latin American ambassadors and pointed to the Peruvian example, asking for Latin American solidarity on this point. When word of de Habich's actions reached Lima, he was recalled and the asylum-seekers were personally brought back to the Embassy by the new Peruvian ambassador, Eduardo Torres. On April 1, 1980, a group of six entered the Embassy in a mini-bus by crashing through the gates. Cuban guards fired on the bus, killing in the crossfire a Cuban employed at the Embassy. When the Peruvians refused to turn over the asylum-seekers, the Cubans removed the guards and announced the removal on radio. Within 36 hours, 10,865 people entered the grounds of the Embassy seeking asylum.

As asylum-seekers were subsequently airlifted to Costa Rica and Peru, the image of discontented, young Cubans, raised under the Revolution, was broadcast worldwide and Castro acted strategically to shift the political focus. He invited Miami exiles to come to Mariel harbour to pick up their malcontent relatives


*News and World Report* when he stated that 51,076 Cubans have set out in the last four and a half years and only 13,275 have made it; a four to one ratio has also been cited by Dr Juan Clark of Miami Dade Community College, based on his continuing work on this subject since 1969) are constructed of materials that are unobtainable in Cuba without government authorisation. Vehicles and fuel used to transport rafts to beaches are rigidly controlled and scarce. Surveillance by the ubiquitous Committees for the Defense of the Revolution and their more militant cousins, the Rapid Response Brigades, had actively impeded exit prior to August. Finally, Cuban border patrols had previously stopped rafters and many were imprisoned. It is no coincidence that US Coast Guard rescues surged from 1,010 in July to 21,300 in August immediately following the first sizable and uncontrolled anti-government protest rally in Havana. Also, not surprisingly, the total number of rafters in January had been only 248. As the Cuban people sent Castro a message of increasing willingness to take strategic action, he sent a reminder to the US regarding his ability to swamp us with refugees.

He also sent an image to the world press of rafters freely setting off from beautiful white sand beaches. One might have imagined they were going tubing for the afternoon and not that three out of every four would perish at sea. Thus, the weapon of migration was once again in play both from below and above. The governments, however, were taking corrective strategic action — after a brief initial statement, Clinton laid low letting Janet Reno handle the press with monotonous repetition of what amounted to a doctrine of "no pasarán" (they shall not pass); immediately prior to the Presidential announcement, the Coast Guard put South Florida on notice that private craft going to Cuba would be seized and owners prosecuted. Appropriate examples of confiscations were publicised locally; South Florida's Cuban political leaders were consulted and their



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He doesn't recall the clothes and vitamin pills and VCRs the exiles brought with them. He only remembers seeing television coverage of Fidel Castro walking into the Havana Libre Hotel — a place reserved, at that time, for tourists and dignitaries, where average Cuban citizens could not enter — to pat the backs of *gusanos* (worms — the revolutionary term used to characterise those who go to Miami or otherwise turn their backs on the revolution). In this man's eyes, Castro was consorting with the enemy.

First the future rafter cried, then he raged inside, then he started to think about leaving. He wasn't pulled to Miami by dreams of golden exile, and he has no family here. He was pushed by the betrayal of the way of life he had sacrificed for and values he had held for twenty years. Speaking of the 1980 boatlift, he comments: "I couldn't leave then because I was doing my military service and I couldn't get out".

He talks of denying his labour to the government by leaving and of easing the constant resentment he felt but could not voice without risking ostracism, at least, and jail at worst. So he arrived in 1994 instead of 1980, with fourteen years of smouldering discontent inside

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### A test of wills

Castro's jiu-jitsu worked. Those who remained for 59 days in the Embassy, protesting against conditions in Cuba, were ignored by the press and, eventually, were quietly flown to Peru. The incident became a question of migration policy. US officials became painfully aware that domestic Cuban protest could be a non-violent weapon wielded by Castro to discredit his oppo-

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### A case for élite intervention?

Where does this standoff from above leave those Cubans on both sides of the Straits of Florida — who are discontented and want to struggle for an immediate democratic opening? Tactics must shift from below and a wedge must be entered in the international stalemate from above. US policy to isolate and ostracise Cuba will continue to be driven by two domestic priorities: first, by the desire of presidential candidates to receive the electoral support (or at least not incur the political wrath) of the organised Cuban community of South Florida and New Jersey; and second, by the current US compassion-fatigue on the subject of immigration. No organised national interest group cares sufficiently about the Cuban situation to intervene with the weight and persistence required to offset Cuban groups in Miami. And, Cubans in Miami are unshakably committed to taking Castro down before all else.

The likeliest scenario for élite intervention lies with other Latin American nations. Figures such as Oscar Arias, Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva, or sub-regional groups of nations could broker an end to the stalemate, allowing the US Administration to save face and providing a political counterweight to the Miami groups.



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### The new face of exile

This is one type of new Cuban exile — not the devout, middle-class, anti-communist of the '60s and '70s but the disenchanted socialist who tried to live within the revolution and found he could not. He is more likely than pre-1980 exiles to be unskilled, unmarried, black, and without US connections. The demography of the population going into exile now more closely resembles the population on the island.

### Castro's gambit?

While the new Cuban exiles may see themselves as protesting against the Cuban regime by leaving it,

Costa Rica and Peru: the image of discontented, young Cubans, raised under the Revolution, was broadcast worldwide and Castro acted strategically to shift the political focus. He invited Miami exiles to come to Mariel harbour to pick up their malcontent relatives and said all counterrevolutionary elements were free to leave. Those in the Embassy were promised priority on the boats and offered safe-conduct passes to their homes to await departure. All but about 400 in the Embassy accepted the passes. Boats flooded south from Florida and the history of the Peruvian Embassy quickly became the history of Mariel. To confirm the negative image of those who wished to leave, Castro mixed criminals and mental patients in the outbound boats — they totaled about 19 per cent of the 125,000 who left through Mariel. Many of this group had been incarcerated for "crimes" that would not be considered offences in the USA — homosexual association, for example — and only about 2-3 per cent were hardened criminals. Nonetheless, popular support for the "Marielitos" in the US was compromised by the media image of a criminal group and the real rash of violent crime that washed over South Florida in the wake of the 2-3 per cent.

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### Three in four are lost at sea ...

Unlike the embassy affair, the 1994 wave was no surprise to the Cubans and was undoubtedly assisted by the government. The pitiful craft used by *balseros* (only one in four rafters survives the trip — Castro recently confirmed this estimated ratio in an interview with US

tial announcement, the Coast Guard put South Florida on notice that private craft going to Cuba would be seized and owners prosecuted. Appropriate examples of confiscations were publicised locally; South Florida's Cuban political leaders were consulted and their support enlisted before action was taken and, finally, rafters were taken anywhere but Miami.

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The likeliest scenario for elite intervention lies with other Latin American nations. Figures such as Oscar Arias, Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva, or sub-regional groups of nations could broker an end to the stalemate, allowing the US Administration to save face and providing a political counterweight to the Miami groups. Indeed, the Rio Group has recently announced that the democratisation/reintegration of Cuba will be one of its priorities for December's "Hemispheric Summit" in Miami.

### Alternative tactics

The average Cuban who has contemplated setting out on a raft, and his or her sympathetic but unorganised counterpart in Miami, might consider alternative tactics such as forming silent human chains along the waterfront in both Miami and Havana as the Summit opens — one facing North, the other South. The media value of drama and need for pressure on all key political players would be recognised; risk to human life would be low; and alternative perspectives in both locations could begin to be organised and expressed.

*Nonviolent Sanctions*



## INTERVIEW

# Breaking through the press ban in Indonesia

MAGGIE HELWIG

● Censorship of the press is hardly a new problem in Indonesia. The first tabloid to be produced in the archipelago in 1744 was closed down by the colonial rulers, the Dutch East Indies Company. Almost continuously since then, Indonesian journalists have worked under more or less severe limitations. But under the Suharto regime, press censorship, like most other forms of repression, has been deployed with particular force.

Since Suharto seized power in 1965, the regime has banned publications, intimidated and harassed journalists, and, to a large extent, prevented any unfavourable coverage from reaching the public. In June of this year, when the three weeklies *Tempo*, *Editor*, and *DeTik* were banned, the government no doubt expected the same quiet acquiescence they had seen before, the banned papers too frightened to speak out, the others increasing their self-censorship to avoid being banned as well. But this time, things did not go the way the government intended. Instead, the bans became the focus for all growing discontent in Indonesian intellectual and cultural circles.

Journalists, artists, students and others took to the streets in a wave of protest that is still going on, demanding their

onstrations and protests. This was also when he first ran up against the limitations of the Indonesian press. Even the staff of a student newspaper, he learned, were liable to arrest and interrogation if they published stories on land expropriation.

In 1989, Taufik began working as a journalist, soon becoming the Bandung bureau chief for *Tempo*, the oldest magazine in Indonesia and one of the most widely read. He warns us not to assume that, because *Tempo* was banned, it had really been a particularly daring or dissident publication. In fact, he found that a large number of the stories he sent from Bandung were either not run, or were edited out of recognition. "The editors in Jakarta were afraid," he says. "There was a case where someone had been badly tortured by the police in Bandung, and I got all the information, but I wasn't allowed to report it. *Tempo* was under pressure not to publish it." He also remembers one of the stories he wrote covering a strike at a local factory which, when it reached Jakarta, was carefully edited in order to slant it against the strikers. "*Tempo* was a victim of politics. They were censoring their own journalists."

Nevertheless, *Tempo* did find the courage to report on government corruption, and on the rivalry between the powerful Minister of Technology B J Habibie, and the military. And on 21 June, the government issued a decree revoking the



Independent journalists' demo in Jakarta. Main banner reads "Without press freedom the workers will always be oppressed".

of AJI, Taufik's election to the chair, and the release of the Sirnagalih Declaration. AJI's samizdat newsletter, *FOWIMedia*, is now produced in Bandung, reporting on their own actions and on the news that can't be reported in the "official" press. The Jakarta members of AJI have published a small book of documents relating to the press ban and to freedom of the press, and they hope to organise discussion groups in different cities.

At the same time, they have filed suits against the government for depriving them of their livelihood; suits which Taufik, trained as a lawyer, believes they will be able to bring into court, though "we know the government always wins in the court."

## Oxfam on legal aid for Rwanda

● The US-led force which was sent to the Gulf in early October to stare down Saddam Hussein managed to find and deploy 60,000 troops in a matter of days, while a modest United Nations request for 147 human rights monitors for Rwanda has failed to come up with 40.

What's more, these 40 observers — mainly lawyers from Francophone countries — have only seven vehicles among them. Two of these are broken down, and another is in use only be-



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Journalists, artists, students and others took to the streets in a wave of protest that is still going on, demanding their right to a free press. One of the people at the centre of this movement is Ahmad Taufik, a slender 29-year-old journalist from Bandung, Java.

Taufik, a young man who laughs quickly and seems unable to go for more than a few minutes without picking up a book or a magazine, is now the chairman of the newly-formed Association of Independent Journalists (AJI), which, in August, issued the Sirnagalih Declaration, a call for freedom of expression in Indonesia. The declaration reads, in part, "We reject all kinds of interference, intimidation, censorship and media bans which deny the freedom of speech and open access to information." Taufik came to London in September on a visit organised by Article 19 and TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, where I was able to interview him (with interpretation from Indonesian by Carmel Budiardjo of TAPOL).

I asked Taufik how he became involved in political activism. He hesitated for a

moment. The first tabloid newspaper published stories on land expropriation.

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Nevertheless, *Tempo* did find the courage to report on government corruption, and on the rivalry between the powerful Minister of Technology B J Habibie, and the military. And on 21 June, the government issued a decree revoking the magazine's licence for "substantial reasons."

The protests began within a day of the banning. Taufik remembers travelling constantly back and forth between Bandung and Jakarta to attend protests. "It was very tiring," he says modestly. In fact, it was more than tiring; it was also dangerous. A demonstration in Jakarta on 27 June was brutally attacked by the police, and some 50 demonstrators, many with blood streaming down their faces, were taken into custody.

One of the protests was held outside the office of the state-sponsored Association of Indonesian Journalists (PWI). Young reporters demanded that the PWI executive member publically condemn the ban. But the PWI remained silent.

In Bandung, a rotating hunger strike began against the press bans. Starting on 27 June, with the idea that each person could take on the hunger strike for one day, so that they could keep it going for a bit longer, the protest has now grown



Independent journalists' demo in Jakarta. Main banner reads "Without press freedom the workers will always be oppressed".

of AJI, Taufik's election to the chair, and the release of the Sirnagalih Declaration. AJI's samizdat newsletter, *FOWIMedia*, is now produced in Bandung, reporting on their own actions and on the news that can't be reported in the "official" press. The Jakarta members of AJI have published a small book of documents relating to the press ban and to freedom of the press, and they hope to organise discussion groups in different cities.

At the same time, they have filed suits against the government for depriving them of their livelihood; suits which Taufik, trained as a lawyer, believes they will be able to bring into court, though "we know the government always wins in the court."

Employees of *Tempo* have also filed for a licence to start a new magazine, *Opini* (Opinion). This was in part another attempt to make "legitimate" news. It was also a reaction to the rumours that Bob Hasan, a timber tycoon best known for deforesting vast areas of the Indonesian archipelago and displacing large numbers of indigenous inhabitants, was going to buy up *Tempo*'s licence and restart it himself.

In early October, the *DeTik* staff suddenly appeared at the premises, and with the official licence, of a recently lapsed magazine called *Simponi*. The new *Simponi* published exactly one issue, including coverage of the trial of labour leader Muchtar Pakpahan and a large colour photograph of ex-president Sukarno, and sold out almost as soon as it reached the streets. The PWI immediately removed the editor's approval (the PWI approval amounts to official permission to practice as a journalist), and a few days later the government announced that the paper was "sus-

## Oxfam on legal aid for Rwanda

The US-led force which was sent to the Gulf in early October to stare down Saddam Hussein managed to find and deploy 60,000 troops in a matter of days, while a modest United Nations request for 147 human rights monitors for Rwanda has failed to come up with 40.

What's more, these 40 observers — mainly lawyers from Francophone countries — have only seven vehicles among them. Two of these are broken down, and another is in use only because an Oxfam fieldworker took pity and gave some monitors his own car.

Consistency is a central problem with the current pattern of UN interventions, according to Oxfam UK and Ireland director David Bryer. Governments appear to be saying "If our interests are not involved, we won't intervene — and particularly won't if it's in Africa."

Bryer was speaking at the launch of **Rwanda: an agenda for international action**, Oxfam's brief (70 pages) backgrounder to the conflict in Rwanda. The book, by Oxfam researcher Guy Vassall-Adams, evaluates the international response to the April 1994 government massacre of Tutsi and opposition Hutus, and the subsequent civil war in Rwanda.

Among the challenges now is to ensure that refugees return in safety to Rwanda; rumours of reprisals, together with pressure from extremist anti-Tutsi militias in the camps, have slowed the return. Here, the desperately understrength team of international human



cent in Indonesian intellectual and cultural circles.

Journalists, artists, students and others took to the streets in a wave of protest that is still going on, demanding their right to a free press. One of the people at the centre of this movement is Ahmad Taufik, a slender 29-year-old journalist from Bandung, Java.

Taufik, a young man who laughs quickly and seems unable to go for more than a few minutes without picking up a book or a magazine, is now the chairman of the newly-formed Association of Independent Journalists (AJI), which, in August, issued the Sirnagalih Declaration, a call for freedom of expression in Indonesia. The declaration reads, in part, "We reject all kinds of interference, intimidation, censorship and media bans which deny the freedom of speech and open access to information." Taufik came to London in September on a visit organised by Article 19 and TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, where I was able to interview him (with interpretation from Indonesian by Carmel Budiardjo of TAPOL).

I asked Taufik how he became involved in political activism. He hesitated for a moment, and finally told me that he didn't really know. "I saw things and got upset ... it just happened in the natural course of events." He has no strong ideology. He can remember no one incident which politicised him. He is simply someone who has become a dissident because of an irrepressible sense of justice.

He first became involved in university, when he was working for a student newspaper. More and more, he was drawn into cases of land expropriation, farmers and smallholders being forcibly driven off their land to make room for Suharto's "development" projects. A law student, he worked with these people, researching their cases, trying to find ways that they could take their issues to court; he also took part in dem-

age to report on government corruption, and on the rivalry between the powerful Minister of Technology B J Habibie, and the military. And on 21 June, the government issued a decree revoking the magazine's licence for "substantial reasons."

The protests began within a day of the banning. Taufik remembers travelling constantly back and forth between Bandung and Jakarta to attend protests. "It was very tiring," he says modestly. In fact, it was more than tiring; it was also dangerous. A demonstration in Jakarta on 27 June was brutally attacked by the police, and some 50 demonstrators, many with blood streaming down their faces, were taken into custody.

One of the protests was held outside the office of the state-sponsored Association of Indonesian Journalists (PWI). Young reporters demanded that the PWI executive member publically condemn the ban. But the PWI remained silent.

In Bandung, a rotating hunger strike began against the press bans. Starting on 27 June, with the idea that each person could take on the hunger strike for one day, so that they could keep it going for a bit longer, the protest has now grown to the extent that they have had to expand it to other cities. There are simply too many people on the list waiting their turn to go on hunger strike.

Most of the hunger strikers, Taufik reports, are local artists. Once a week, they also stage a cultural event, "happening art" as he calls it; musical performances, poetry recitals or theatre pieces in the streets (referred to, somewhat mysteriously, as "postmodern art"). At one point they held a 24-hour cultural event, with music, poetry and performance going on round the clock.

It was also the Bandung journalists and artists who, in August, called a meeting of the people and organisations involved in protests against the bans, a meeting which resulted in the formation

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There is a huge energy and a sense of optimism in the press freedom campaign, as impressive as Taufik's own quiet confidence in himself and his cause. Ironically, the press ban on the three magazines may, instead of terrorising Indonesian journalists, have created among some of them a small renaissance of underground publishing and culture. Acting now to reclaim their voices, they are no longer willing to be silenced.

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Among the challenges now is to ensure that refugees return in safety to Rwanda; rumours of reprisals, together with pressure from extremist anti-Tutsi militias in the camps, have slowed the return. Here, the desperately understrength team of international human rights monitors should play a key role — ensuring that there are no further violations of human rights, enabling people to return home with confidence.

Oxfam also sees an urgent need to rebuild the country's juridical infrastructure; there are said to be only three practising lawyers in Kigali, the Rwandan capital. Justice must be seen to be done, both in assigning responsibility for the massacres of April and in ensuring that laws are evenly applied in the period of national rebuilding — which is set to take many years.

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Guy Vassall-Adams **Rwanda: an agenda for international action** Oxfam, 274 Banbury Rd, Oxford OX2 7DZ England

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## AGENDA

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# The gunship strikes back

MICHAEL RANDLE

 Not long ago, intervention was a dirty word. We — by which I mean the peace movement and a broad spectrum of opinion from centre to left in many countries — were against it.

Now, three factors have shifted the public debate on military intervention. First there is the reality and scale of the disasters in Bosnia, Rwanda and all too many other places which cry out for concerted international action. Second, the end of the Cold War has made intervention by the UN a possibility in a way that was rarely true when one or other superpower was likely to use its veto to prevent it. Third, military intervention no longer carries the same immediate risk of sparking off a nuclear war — though I stress the word immediate.

Let us acknowledge, at the outset, that there is a moral and political case for intervention to end or prevent bloodshed. To say so is to depart from the strict pacifist position, if that is taken to mean condemning as immoral any use of military force under any circumstances. It is to recognize that societies, like individuals have a right of self-defence. That seems to me, now, to be a more solid point of departure for considering how to limit and eventually eliminate warfare and develop nonviolent methods of preventing or waging struggle than to deny altogether the right of self-defence. Nevertheless, in my view, the presumption, based on past experience, should always be against intervention.

We need, first of all, to distinguish between peacekeeping and warfighting. Peacekeeping is necessary in a variety of circumstances; warfighting raises far more serious questions. Falling somewhere in between these is the kind of humanitarian intervention the UN has been attempting in Bosnia which has involved some limited military action in self-defence or the defence of UN designated "safe areas".

### The UN grows teeth

Since the Korean War — essentially a US operation — the UN has largely confined itself to a peacekeeping

over a much smaller and weaker neighbour and established a high-tech defence in depth, it will take huge offensive forces to dislodge it. It could prove an even more difficult task to dislodge a dictator in his own country by an externally mounted invasion.

### Looking after their own

The limitations to even US power also means, almost inevitably, that it will concentrate its efforts on those situations where it perceives its own vital interests to be at stake. This would apply to any state wielding such unique power in the world. It underlines one of the central problems about any attempt to turn the UN into an organisation that imposes solutions by military force, namely that, intentionally or otherwise, it would begin to play a partisan role on the side of an unjust status quo. Governments rarely if ever act out of simple altruism and have half an eye at least on self-interest. France obtained UN backing for its blatantly partisan intervention in Rwanda on behalf of a government which it armed and supported and which has been mainly responsible for the massacres there. Liberals and humanitarian organisations are apt to forget when they call for military intervention that it is not they who will be doing the intervening but soldiers under the control of governments with their own agenda and priorities. Rarely will the intervention take place on the terms the liberals intended.

Public criticism and debate can of course put pressure on the UN to act more impartially. But here a different kind of danger arises — namely that of token, half-hearted interventions unsupported by the will or means to see them through to a satisfactory conclusion. Such gestures, far from contributing to a peaceful solution, can make matters worse. The short-lived US intervention in Somalia is a case in point. The intervention in the Lebanon from 1982-84 by US, British, French, and Italian forces is another.

The US invaded Haiti once before this century "to restore democracy" in 1915. Its troops remained there until 1934 and it continued to exercise fiscal control until 1947. Yet Haiti ranks among the states in the region that have suffered the longest and harshest

suffering and death, as they are doing in Iraq. Nor do they necessarily eliminate the need for some military action which may be required to prevent sanctions-breaking by other states or individual firms. Despite these limitations, sanctions have sometimes proved effective — against the military regime in Poland, for instance, in the 1980s, against Chile in the same decade, and, above all, against the apartheid regime in South Africa. As a general rule they work best when there is a popular opposition movement within a country calling for them, and when sanctions at governmental level are backed up by transnational action by citizens' groups.

### The limits of nonviolent intervention

Pacifist and other citizens' groups from various countries have also undertaken nonviolent interventions in situations of oppression and conflict. Again these work best where they are carried out in close collaboration with groups in the country concerned. To cite an example: an international rally in Jerusalem in December 1989 entitled "1990: Time for Peace" had the backing of the Israeli Peace Now organisation and clearly had considerable impact within Israel; by contrast a "Walk for a Peaceful Future in the Middle East" in June 1992 which failed to gain the support of Peace Now was much less effective. The attempts at nonviolent intervention by international pacifist organisations in Bosnia, such as the Mir Sada peace march in August 1993, have also, in general, lacked credibility, despite the undoubted courage of those who took part in them. Low-key, and longer-term, projects aimed at mediation, reconciliation and peace-building have tended to be more successful and will certainly be needed there long after the shooting stops.

Non-violent initiatives by the peace movement and other transnational citizens groups can have a symbolic and mobilising function, and may assist groups and movements inside the country in question. But at this point in history, they will not be able fundamentally to change the situation. Nor is mass non-violent intervention currently available as an option to governments and international bodies. Peace and radical



action. Second, the end of the war has made intervention by the UN a possibility in a way that was rarely true when one or other superpower was likely to use its veto to prevent it. Third, military intervention no longer carries the same immediate risk of sparking off a nuclear war — though I stress the word immediate.

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Since the Korean War — essentially a US operation — the UN has largely confined itself to a peacekeeping role. Troops, lightly armed, have monitored agreements already entered into by the contending parties. Though the peacekeepers are armed, their effectiveness stems more from the authority of the UN than from their firepower. The Congo operation in the early 1960s was a partial exception to this pattern. However, the decisive break came with the Gulf War in 1991. This was a war on a major scale made possible by the end of the Cold War and the consensus against Saddam Hussein's forcible annexation of Kuwait. The war was hailed as the dawn of an era in which a UN "with teeth" would police the New World Order. It has proved to be nothing of the kind.

It was clear, indeed, to many of us at the time that it could not be so. The US and Western governments believed that their vital interests were threatened by Saddam's action, and were thus prepared to make an exceptional effort to repulse him. It was not likely they would go to the same lengths where Western interests were not perceived to be at risk. Moreover the desert terrain favoured a short, high-tech war that the US and its allies in the industrial world were supremely well equipped to carry out. Fear of becoming bogged down in a prolonged Vietnam-style conflict, and of having to take responsibility for a fundamental re-organisation of the Iraqi political system, no doubt explains in part

such a power in the world. It undermines one of the central problems about any attempt to turn the UN into an organisation that imposes solutions by military force, namely that, intentionally or otherwise, it would begin to play a partisan role on the side of an unjust status quo. Governments rarely if ever act out of simple altruism and have half an eye at least on self-interest. France obtained UN backing for its blatantly partisan intervention in Rwanda on behalf of a government which it armed and supported and which has been mainly responsible for the massacres there. Liberals and humanitarian organisations are apt to forget when they call for military intervention that it is not they who will be doing the intervening but soldiers under the control of governments with their own agenda and priorities. Rarely will the intervention take place on the terms the liberals intended.

Public criticism and debate can of course put pressure on the UN to act more impartially. But here a different kind of danger arises — namely that of token, half-hearted interventions unsupported by the will or means to see them through to a satisfactory conclusion. Such gestures, far from contributing to a peaceful solution, can make matters worse. The short-lived US intervention in Somalia is a case in point. The intervention in the Lebanon from 1982-84 by US, British, French, and Italian forces is another.

The US invaded Haiti once before this century "to restore democracy" in 1915. Its troops remained there until 1934 and it continued to exercise fiscal control until 1947. Yet Haiti ranks among the states in the region that have suffered the longest and harshest tyrannical regimes in the region in the years which followed that intervention. The American specialist James R Kurth, in a study published in 1973, argues that the effect of the US occupation in Dominican Republic and Nicaragua was to level what remained of the traditional political institutions and to erect a single institution, the army, which towered over the traditional rubble, the urban rabble and everything else. To a lesser extent the same occurred in Cuba ... Haiti ... and Panama ... "

Clearly preventative measures taken at an early stage in an embryonic crisis are potentially more effective than any non-military sanctions imposed once the crisis has developed into open conflict. Had the international community, for instance, thrown its weight behind the proposal of President Izetbegovic of Bosnia in 1992 to transform the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) from a conscript army to a professional one, and succeeded in having this measure adopted, the JNA would have been assured of a future role in Bosnia and would have been less likely to have sided with Serbia in the war which followed. Clearly, too, one should not overlook the exploitative economic and other structures which give rise to many of the world's conflicts, or the fact that often the governments who wring their hands at the prospect of intervention are themselves like

groups.

### The limits of nonviolent intervention

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Non-violent initiatives by the peace movement and other transnational citizens groups can have a symbolic and mobilising function, and may assist groups and movements inside the country in question. But at this point in history, they will not be able fundamentally to change the situation. Nor is mass non-violent intervention currently available as an option to governments and international bodies. Peace and radical movements have to face up to this and not deceive themselves and others that there is necessarily a non-violent alternative in every situation. Having said that, it is clearly important to explore the possibilities of unarmed peacekeeping, and other nonviolent approaches.

Non-violent movements within a country are much more likely to generate the power and leverage to topple dictatorships, or to prevent or halt massacres. They may also be able to forestall or bring to an end aggressive interventions and wars by their own governments. Often the most positive contribution outsiders can make is to give such movements publicity and support — and, of course, to prevent their own and allied governments from arming and supporting tyrannical regimes and turning a blind eye to their crimes. The nonviolent campaign led by Aung San Suu Kyi in Burma could determine whether or not that country becomes another killing field.

### Telling the difference

In a period where only one superpower exists a crucial task for peacemakers and other radicals is to act as a watchdog against interventionism and to mobilise international action against it. But if they are to fulfil that task effectively, the organisations concerned will need



## The UN grows teeth

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I focus on the US because as the world's remaining military superpower it would have to play the central role in equipping the UN with a credible warfighting army. It is the only power with the capability to undertake a major strategic offensive like Desert Storm, with the certainty of success, against even second and third level powers when the latter are heavily armed with sophisticated and deadly weapons — usually supplied, of course, by itself or other industrialised countries. As peace researchers in the 1980s argued, modern technology can bolster the traditional strategic advantage enjoyed by the defence in war. The corollary of that, however, is that if an aggressor state has taken

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Clearly preventative measures taken at an early stage in an embryonic crisis are potentially more effective than any non-military sanctions imposed once the crisis has developed into open conflict. Had the international community, for instance, thrown its weight behind the proposal of President Izetbegovic of Bosnia in 1992 to transform the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) from a conscript army to a professional one, and succeeded in having this measure adopted, the JNA would have been assured of a future role in Bosnia and would have been less likely to have sided with Serbia in the war which followed. Clearly, too, one should not overlook the exploitative economic and other structures which give rise to many of the world's conflicts, or the fact that often the governments who wring their hands in anguish at the aggression of tyrants like Saddam Hussein and appeal for our support for military action against them, are the same ones that have armed and supported them in the past.

## The role of sanctions

Sanctions — economic, cultural, diplomatic — have a role, though their limitations need to be acknowledged. They are a blunt instrument, and slow acting at best. They apply pressure but not the coercive shock of military action. At worst, they are a sop to the public demand for something to be done and hurt the civilian population of a target country more than their errant leaders. Moreover, even when sanctions bite, they can be counterproductive politically. There is some evidence that the sanctions against Serbia caused many Serbs to rally to the support of Slobodan Milosevic. However, it may be that in the longer term, sanctions played their part in getting Milosevic to agree to close the border with his erstwhile allies in Bosnia.

Sanctions, like warfare, can also cause indiscriminate

and movements inside the country in question. But at this point in history, they will not be able fundamentally to change the situation. Nor is mass non-violent intervention currently available as an option to governments and international bodies. Peace and radical movements have to face up to this and not deceive themselves and others that there is necessarily a non-violent alternative in every situation. Having said that, it is clearly important to explore the possibilities of unarmed peacekeeping, and other nonviolent approaches.

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## Telling the difference

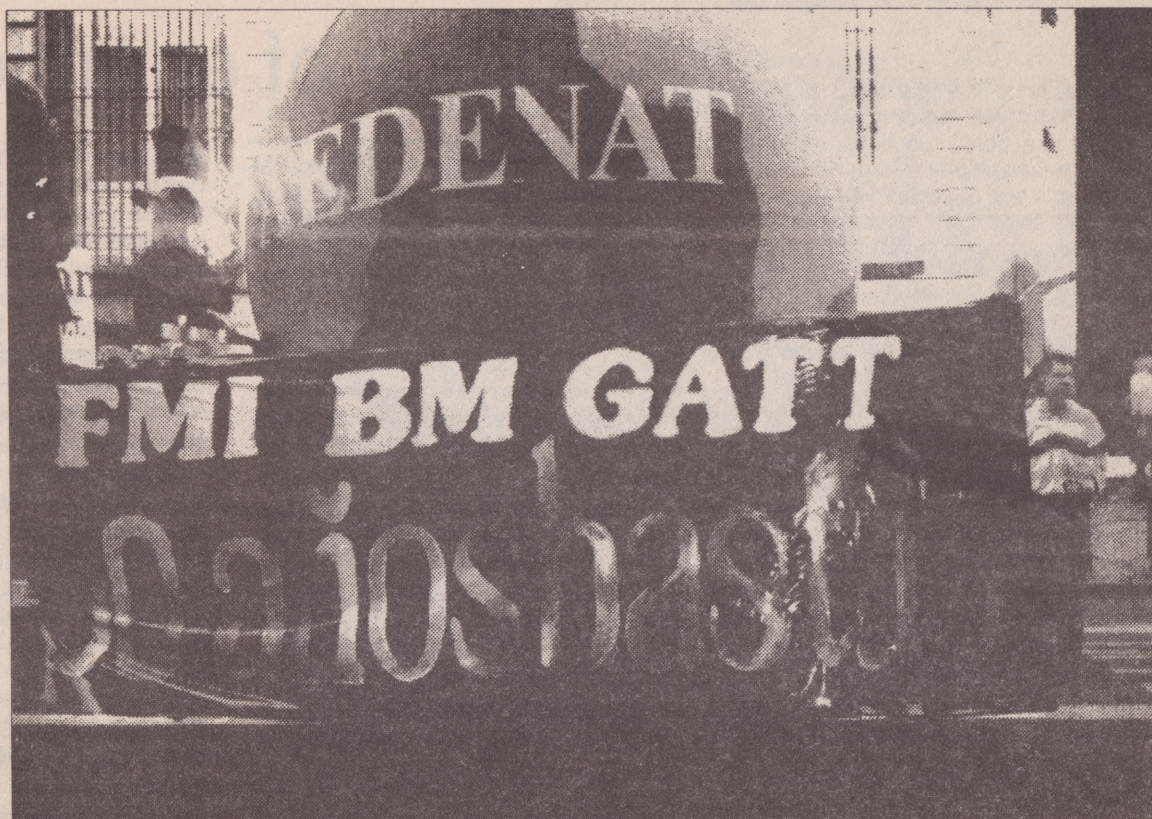
In a period where only one superpower exists a crucial task for peacemakers and other radicals is to act as a watchdog against interventionism and to mobilise international action against it. But if they are to fulfil that task effectively, the organisations concerned will need to distinguish between the kind of limited military action in self defence, or to protect civilians, such as the UN/NATO operation at Gorazde and Sarajevo, or humanitarian operations such as that in Bosnia as a whole, and interventions which have a clearly aggressive character or which threaten to engulf a region, or the wider world, in war. Pacifists will not endorse the former. Yet it is vital that they should concentrate their opposition on the more aggressive and dangerous instances of military intervention.

UN peacekeeping operations and humanitarian interventions will continue to be needed in the foreseeable future and to depend for their success upon some use or threat of force. It is quite another matter for the UN to take on a major warfighting role, or for the US or other governments to wage war in its name. That road is fraught with danger. And not very far down it lies the nightmare of nuclear war.

*adapted from a paper for UNESCO Bilbao, 14 October 1994*



Protests at the World Bank/International Monetary Fund 50th anniversary meeting in Madrid. While some demonstrators focused on the unfairness of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations, others highlighted the World Bank's role in financing or encouraging dam-building and deforestation. Most protests were met with heavy police action, and demonstrators were arrested in several separate incidents. A public hunger strike against Third World debt continues in Madrid; we hope to have a fuller report in next month's *Peace News*.



CHRIS JAMIESON

## Tracking the history of violence and power in Colombia

This year, two international meetings on nonviolence and peaceful resistance to militarism are taking place in Latin America. War Resisters' International is holding its triennial conference in São Leopoldo, Brazil from 10-17 December; and the International Conscientious Objectors' Meeting (ICOM) will take place two weeks earlier in Colombia. ANDREAS RABL, one of the organisers of this year's ICOM, gives some background on the Colombian

the '70s and '80s various guerrilla-movements were formed, mainly as a way to fight that oligarchic system and its absolute control. At the same time the influence of the narcotics traffickers, their various cartels, with their armed gangs, began to grow.

Besides that there is delinquency, local militias, right-wing paramilitaries (often cooperating with police or the army) and huge everyday violence, not to forget the army (that is still quite involved in killing even oppositional politicians, such as the only senator of the Union Patriótica in August) and the

sibilities and raw materials, the major parts of it are in the hands of just a few and most farmers have hardly enough to live on.

Because of the violence in the countryside, through the army, the right-wing paramilitaries and the guerrillas, there has been a huge migration to the cities, so that the country is now 70 per cent urban (Bogotá has over 7 million inhabitants). There the circle of violence continues: There are more and more poor neighbourhoods, with official unemployment rates of 13 per cent among youth from 15-19 and 13 per cent from

killed).

But young people such as those in Las Comunas in Medellín — well known all over the country for its violence — are the most interested and open people to work with. We had there some seminars and public discussions, always with youth between 15 and 20, around 50 people always, on human rights, non-violence and conscientious objection. And it was impressive how they participated in the discussions and in the whole work; every one of them. The future should see them not as bureaucrats or party soldiers but as activists





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**The struggle for power between the Conservative and Liberal parties in Colombia resulted in seven civil wars within 100 years. The last of these, from 1948-58, was called "La Violencia"; it claimed about 200,000 victims, mainly small farmers.**

In 1958, the two parties agreed on a system of power-sharing — the Frente Nacional — that is still in operation, just a bit weakened in recent years. In

the '70s and '80s various guerrilla-movements were formed, mainly as a way to fight that oligarchic system and its absolute control. At the same time the influence of the narcotics traffickers, their various *cártels*, with their armed gangs, began to grow.

Besides that there is delinquency, local militias, right-wing paramilitaries (often cooperating with police or the army) and huge everyday violence, not to forget the army (that is still quite involved in killing even oppositional politicians, such as the only senator of the Union Patriótica in August) and the huge police forces that seem to fight everyone.

The long history of violence and domination has had quite an impact on the new "La Violencia", causing over 28,000 murders every year and making it the main cause for death of men between 15 and 45.

### The social influence of violence

As colonisation brought the country feudal structures that later on continued through that oligarchic system till nowadays, there is an almost two-class-system, with a huge lower class and a small upper class, as well as just a small middle class, yet. Although the country would be quite rich in agricultural pos-

sibilities and raw materials, the major parts of it are in the hands of just a few and most farmers have hardly enough to live on.

Because of the violence in the countryside, through the army, the right-wing paramilitaries and the guerrillas, there has been a huge migration to the cities, so that the country is now 70 per cent urban (Bogotá has over 7 million inhabitants). There the circle of violence continues: There are more and more poor neighbourhoods, with official unemployment rates of 13 per cent among youth from 15-19 and 13 per cent from 20-29. But it doesn't include all the "self-employed" people, who sell little things in the streets for very little money.

The unemployed and under-employed often end up fighting for the guerrilla, for the drug barons, for the militias or for the army or they end up as thieves. The cemeteries of the cities are full of graves with pictures from youngsters and love letters from their friends and families.

### How to break the circle

In the *barrios*, everyone has relatives who were victims of the violence and where quite a high percentage of the youth would also end up as casualties, whether active (as killers), or passive (as

killed).

But young people such as those in Las Comunas in Medellín — well known all over the country for its violence — are the most interested and open people to work with. We had there some seminars and public discussions, always with youth between 15 and 20, around 50 people always, on human rights, non-violence and conscientious objection. And it was impressive how they participated in the discussions and in the whole work; every one of them. The future should see them not as bureaucrats or party soldiers but as activists changing the society from the grass-roots.

Even the question of violence is far from dogmatic for them; so far they just haven't seen or heard of alternatives. More ideas and courage are needed to start a nonviolent struggle — presenting yourself openly to your opponents — than is the case when you take up arms and hide after the attack. And there are already some very interesting projects on youth work running or being developed independently in the *barrios* and in indigenous villages.

The government changed the constitution in 1991, establishing a constitutional assembly, and opening up participation to a wide variety of formerly excluded voices, including members of M-19, the former guerrilla movement which laid down its arms in 1990. The result sounds quite interesting (although there is still no right for conscientious objection), but the juridical reality is different. The constitution has included things like the expansion of the political possibilities for citizens to participate, the rights of freedom of conscience and the inviolable right for life.

## Organising for objection

**Ricardo Pinzon:** The state doesn't recognise alternative forms of solidarity, the possibility of being different, nor does it permit the proposal of building a society without arms.

At the end of high school the young men have to present themselves to a lottery


tion movement in Colombia started primarily with the Mennonites; it was part of our tradition of pacifist witness. Military service was for many years not at all systematic, although it was obligatory. So, if a person didn't want to go to the military, generally there were ways out.

forced recruitment, and then all of a sudden they were pacifists. So why didn't they say that before under the other government?

**Lucy Alvarez:** Before the elections you hear quite a few politicians talking about obligatory military service and after-



Meeting (ICOM) will take place two weeks earlier in Colombia. ANDREAS RABL, one of the organisers of this year's ICOM, gives some background on the Colombian situation, and interviews three members of conference co-organisers, the Colectivo por la Objeción de Conciencia (COC).

 The struggle for power between the Conservative and Liberal parties in Colombia resulted in seven civil wars within 100 years. The last of these, from 1948-58, was called "La Violencia"; it claimed about 200,000 victims, mainly small farmers.

In 1958, the two parties agreed on a system of power-sharing — the Frente Nacional — that is still in operation, just a bit weakened in recent years. In

## Organising for objection

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At the end of high school the young men have to present themselves to a lottery, in which they are either incorporated into the military service, or are declared as "left-overs". 60 per cent of the young people are not incorporated and they have to pay their way out, which is legal (US \$200 to 800).

Another way is recruiting in out-of-the-way-places, where they just pick up the young men, who haven't got their military papers in order and take them right away from the streets (this accounts for 60 per cent of the recruits). Service lasts either 18 or 24 months, which depends on the area where they serve, and so on.

**Peter Sturky:** The conscientious objec-

tion movement in Colombia started primarily with the Mennonites; it was part of our tradition of pacifist witness. Military service was for many years not at all systematic, although it was obligatory. So, if a person didn't want to go to the military, generally there were ways out. You paid your way out, or whatever. But in the mid-'80s the government began tightening up on military service.

The long history of violence and domination has had quite an impact on the new "La Violencia", causing over 28,000 murders every year and making it the main cause for death of men between 15 and 45.

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### How to break the circle

forced recruitment, and then all of a sudden they were pacifists. So why didn't they say that before under the other government?

**Lucy Alvarez:** Before the elections you hear quite a few politicians talking about obligatory military service and afterwards you don't, but it seems like it could be an idea whose time has come for Colombia. It's very significant that in this last presidential election (this year), the candidate Andreas Pastrana was talking before the first round about no more obligatory military service, wanting to professionalise the army, and after the first round, Samper (the present President) came out with a counter-proposal of his own, which had to do more with obligatory social service. But they both were dealing with the issue of conscription, so it's very significant that it becomes a part of the national debate, where five years ago it was unknown.

participated in the discussions and in the whole work; every one of them. The future should see them not as bureaucrats or party soldiers but as activists changing the society from the grass-roots.

Even the question of violence is far from dogmatic for them; so far they just haven't seen or heard of alternatives. More ideas and courage are needed to start a nonviolent struggle — presenting yourself openly to your opponents — than is the case when you take up arms and hide after the attack. And there are already some very interesting projects on youth work running or being developed independently in the *barrios* and in indigenous villages.

The government changed the constitution in 1991, establishing a constitutional assembly, and opening up participation to a wide variety of formerly excluded voices, including members of M-19, the former guerrilla movement which laid down its arms in 1990. The result sounds quite interesting (although there is still no right for conscientious objection), but the juridical reality is different. The constitution has included things like the expansion of the political possibilities for citizens to participate, the rights of freedom of conscience and the inviolable right for life, the protection of minorities, a public defender, and so on. But as long as there are no major structural changes, little will effectively happen.

International awareness of responsibility will be necessary, too; thinking about the military aid for the "anti-narcotics traffic campaign", or the fact that the campesino gets only 5 per cent of the amount that people in the West pay for the coffee.

ICOM Newsletter

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## In brief

■ **Kate Millett *The Politics of Cruelty: an essay on the literature of political imprisonment*** Viking, £18: A

sadly disappointing book; one expects a great deal better from Kate Millett than a sort of undirected wandering through a selection of written, mostly fictional, accounts of torture. There are moments in the first part of the book when she seems on the verge of something genuinely interesting, when she begins to pursue the idea of torture as paradigmatic of the modern state and larger issues of power and authority. She also draws some interesting parallels between torture and psychiatry. But she never really takes these ideas anywhere, and soon settles down into what is basically a series of plot summaries interspersed with well-written but fairly obvious laments over the existence of torture and cruelty. It's an intelligent and informed book, of course, but ultimately not actually very enlightening.

■ **Susanne Thorbek *Gender and Slum Culture in Urban Asia*** Zed Books,

£22: An interesting account of the lives of women in the Ratmalana slum in Colombo, Sri Lanka. Thorbek does good, detailed work in a deliberately circumscribed area, basing her book almost entirely on interviews with the women themselves, describing their stories and their concerns. Those she knew best emerge as vivid and fascinating individuals. Thorbek also draws comparisons between the conditions of women here and in the Khlong Toey slum in Bangkok, about which she wrote an earlier book, and suggests some reasons for the relatively greater independence of the Thai women.

■ **Avedon Carol *Nudes, Prudes and Attitudes: pornography and censorship*** New Clarion Press, £9.95: A good

summary of feminist arguments against censorship and some history of Feminists Against Censorship in Britain. Carol is trying to cover a great deal of material very quickly, and I often felt I wanted more detailed descriptions of

## REVIEWS

# A choice of enemies

Frank Furedi *The New Ideology of Imperialism: renewing the moral imperative* Pluto, £8.95 paperback. Reviewed by BEN WEBB.

● "And you didn't get famines quite as frequently in Africa then as you do now." That was the British historian John Charmley, in an aside on the forgotten virtues of Empire, quoted by the author of this pungent and highly relevant little book.

Charmley is not alone in "morally rehabilitating" the era of European colonialism. Every recent disaster in the Third World, from floods in Bangladesh to massacres in Rwanda, has been accompanied by quite explicit remarks that "hopeless case" countries would be better off under Western tutelage.

That these remarks have generally gone unchallenged suggests that something has changed in the Western view of the "South". The British Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, summed up the new mood with his trademark blend of petulance and arrogance: "We are slowly putting behind us a period of history when the West was unable to express a legitimate interest in the developing world without being accused of 'neo-colonialism'".

The impatience with stropky, venal natives, the elastic notion of "legitimate interest" — these carry a strong echo of Empire. Yet, notes Furedi, "it would be wrong to see the Western hatred of Third World nationalism merely as a timeless recurring theme." The anti-Third Worldism of our time is a specific reaction to a long period when the West lost the moral high ground, as well as to the end of the Cold War and the collapse

tions, as when he notes of the frequent doubts cast on the genuineness of Third World nationalism: "The stress on nationalism as a European export to the colonies had the effect of further diminishing the significance of anti-imperialist initiative." He links this to the later academic fashion for depicting colonial nationalism as the personal "maladjustment" of "marginal men".

The current themes of "terrorism" and a "threat from the South" echo uncannily some of the "imperialist panics" of the past, Furedi suggests. He deftly charts the periodic eruption of these panics, spending some time on the widespread belief in imperial circles during the Second World War that returning colonial troops would be the spearhead of nationalism. They turned out not to be, but the belief evinced a loss of confidence in the white man's right to rule.

A chapter on the "social construction of the Third World terrorist" draws some interesting comparisons between the demonisation of Third World liberation movements and the distrust of the masses that surfaced in 19th century studies of "crowd psychology". Yet somewhat surprisingly, Furedi does not draw attention to the parallel with the present: particularly in the USA, dread of the South is intimately tied up with a fear of the "dangerous classes" at home. This conglomerate of anxieties is neatly summed up in a phrase used by the strategist Edward Luttwak, among others: "the Third-Worldisation of America". Why Furedi fails to pursue this suggestive theme we see only near the end.

Up to its last 10 pages, this book is closely argued, eye-opening and in the

the "imperialist powers".

Furedi here proves himself a prisoner of his own Leninism. One is entitled to any amount of scepticism regarding the good faith of the great powers. But if one rejects all UN or Western intervention in the "domestic affairs" of sovereign states, one will end up keeping some insalubrious political company. And in at least one case — Bosnia, which Furedi would class as a case of imperialist interference — one will take aim at the wrong adversary.

Which brings us back to Douglas Hurd. The British foreign secretary is indeed an exemplar of the persistent imperial cast of mind, but not in the way Furedi believes. At the beginning of the Balkan conflict, Hurd referred to Croatia and Slovenia, soon to be joined by Bosnia, as "petty warring statelets", displaying a dismissive contempt matching any colonial Governor-General's. Hurd's entire "intervention" in Bosnia has in true imperial style served to prop up the biggest power in the region, in this case the fascist-like Serbia. The Western "plan" for the ex-Yugoslavia has similarly been cast in the imperial mould: describe the conflict as "age-old", carve up the territories on ethnic lines, and declare the bloody result a federation.

*Plus ça change*, one might say. But in the new world disorder, one would do well to pick one's heroes and villains carefully.

**TEACHING  
YOUNG CHILDREN IN  
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■ **Joan Lawley and Philip S Bagwell *Prison Cell to Council Chamber: Philip W Bagwell 1885-1958*** William Sessions Ltd, £8.50: Philip W Bagwell was imprisoned for 27 months as a conscientious objector during the First World War, and later served as a local councillor for Ventnor on the Isle of Wight for 24 years. This is an affectionate account of his life written by two of his children. Somewhat terrifyingly, the book contains a number of handwritten corrections, and I have visions of the

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The bulk of Furedi's book is a dissection of the rhetoric of anti-nationalism from the days of Empire to its revival over the past decade. Furedi describes his aim as "not to celebrate the virtues of Third World nationalism but to explore how and why this phenomenon has been manipulated and demonised by the West." He offers some shrewd observa-

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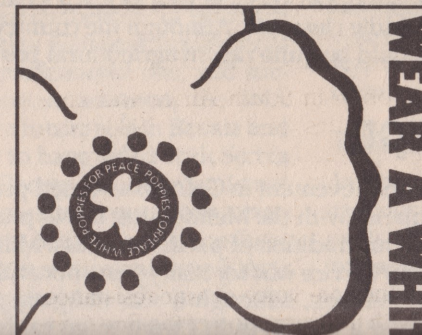
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■ Amnesty International **Power and Impunity: human rights under the New Order**, £4: Amnesty's book-length report on Indonesia and its occupied territories is detailed and comprehensive, includes most of the significant case studies and presents the human rights situation in the historical framework of Suharto's "New Order" government. An exceptionally good summary report, one of Amnesty's best, it has already attracted the denunciation of the Indonesian government, who have described it as a "thinly-disguised fundraising effort" and professed to be bewildered at the particular hatred which they claim Amnesty feels for them.

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# The only way to find freedom is to leave

Reinaldo Arenas **Before Night Falls** trans Dolores M Koch, Viking. Reviewed by DAVID WEBSTER.

In his novel *The Doorman*, Reinaldo Arenas creates a character based on all the American academics who berated him as a traitor to the Cuban revolution. The character, Cassandra Levinson, is a New York academic who repeatedly tries to save the revolutionary soul of the book's hero, the doorman Juan — a Cuban refugee who (like Arenas) was part of the 1980 Mariel boat lift. Mrs. Levinson tries to convince Juan that Cuba is the perfect society, ignoring his protests that as a Cuban, he knows better.

It's tempting to say that academics who still cling to their blind Cold War faith in Cuba and Fidel Castro should read Arenas' autobiography, *Before Night Falls*. But as Arenas himself would have said, there probably wouldn't be any point to that — their minds are already made up.

Still, *Before Night Falls* is recommended reading for those who want to hear the story of a man who was only driven to becoming a dissident and fleeing the country because Castro's regime forbade him to write. It also stands as one of the best records I've seen of the persecution of gay people in Castro's Cuba.

Reinaldo Arenas was born in grinding poverty under the Batista dictatorship that administered Cuba for years on behalf of American companies. His family supported a liberal opposition party, which was eventually crushed. He was exactly the sort of person to whom Castro appealed when he launched the 1958 Revolution. Like many young people, the 15-year old Arenas joined Castro's

brought was greater oppression.

The most oppressed, he says, were intellectuals who could threaten the regime with ideas and free thinking, and gays, who threatened its macho foundations. In the early days of Castroist Cuba, Arenas was seemingly neither, and flourished as a war hero and member of the new vanguard. "We were the ideological guides of a new kind of repression," he writes. By the time he was arrested in 1973, he had become a major "enemy of the people," charged with sexual and thought crimes.

Arenas paints a picture of a Cuba where the dominant passion is sex. In the rural Cuba of his youth, "life in the country is lived close to nature and, therefore, to sexuality.... sexual energy generally overcomes all prejudice, repression, and punishment. That force, the force of nature, dominates. In the country, I think, it is a rare man who has not had sex with another man." The book chronicles dozens of sexual encounters in parks, beaches, public toilets and rooms. Sexual openness and freedom are tied together inextricably in Arenas' Cuba; the coercive force of the Castro regime is determined to stamp out both.

The main sexual target is, of course, gay sexuality. The macho revolutionary hero Castro and his supporters cannot tolerate open homosexuality, though to judge from Arenas' story male homosexuality is everywhere in the country. (There is little mention of lesbians, who seem not to have interacted with Arenas on many occasions. Repression against them is also there, however: the early administrators of the National Library were purged in part because many of them were lesbians.)

According to Arenas, there are four categories of gays in Cuba: those who

and defend the regime. Arenas places himself fairly clearly in the first category, adding a passion for political freedom to his passion for sexual freedom.

On several occasions, Arenas and a friend pick up adolescent boys in a public place, have sex with them in the bushes, and are then attacked by the same boys, whose lust is replaced with macho revolutionary vigilance. One of these instances creates the pretext for his arrest on morals charges.

Once the authorities have him in their hands, however, they try to force him to recant a greater threat — his writings. In 1965 Arenas won an award from the Cuban Writers and Artists Union for his first novel, *Singing from the Well*. By 1966, he was already enough of a threat in the minds of some of the leaders of the union that his novel *The Ill-Fated Peregrinations of Fray Servando* was named the best novel of the year but given second prize, while the first prize spot was left vacant.

The way Arenas tells this story sets a running theme throughout the rest of the book — his mocking contempt for unimaginative authority. The exercise of authority becomes more brutal as the story goes on, but Arenas' mocking never lets up.

Arenas becomes friends with other gay Cuban writers, like Virgilio Pinera and Lezama Lima. Like them, he does not set out to oppose the state, but is rather the victim of increasingly rigid censorship. Eventually, he is able to find a publisher overseas, but spends years hiding manuscripts from the police. Through most of this period, however, he and his friends have no desire to leave the country. Pinera, for instance, returned to Cuba by choice after Castro came to power, unable to live elsewhere.

that all gay people should be expelled from Cuba. Under an altered passport, he manages to escape just as police are closing in to prevent him from leaving.

Arenas does not welcome America as some promised land. He hates Miami, the city that right-wing Cubans have made their capital, calling it "a plastic world, lacking all mystery." His ten years in America form an epilogue, during which he stays alive to finish his writings and add one novel, *The Doorman*. He never seeks American citizenship and continues to campaign for human rights for Cuba. "The difference between the communist and capitalist systems," he says, "is that, although they both give you a kick in the ass, in the communist system you have to applaud, while in the capitalist system you can scream. And I came here to scream."

Arenas' heart was still in Cuba when he killed himself in 1990, after years of fighting AIDS. In his suicide note, Arenas wrote: "There is only one person I hold accountable: Fidel Castro. The sufferings of exile, the pain of being banished from my country, the loneliness, and the diseases contracted in exile would probably never have happened if I had been able to enjoy freedom in my country"

International attention has forced Cuba to back off from some of its worst treatment of gay people since 1980. The recent limited release in Havana and overseas of the film *Strawberry and Chocolate*, which shows the (platonic) relationship between a gay artist and a communist student, is one mark of that. But the gay man in that film is still forced to the same conclusion as Reinaldo Arenas — the only way to find freedom is to leave Fidel Castro's Cuba.

"All dictatorships are sexually repres-



part of the 1980 Mariel boat lift. Mrs. Levinson tries to convince Juan that Cuba is the perfect society, ignoring his protests that as a Cuban, he knows better.

It's tempting to say that academics who still cling to their blind Cold War faith in Cuba and Fidel Castro should read Arenas' autobiography, *Before Night Falls*. But as Arenas himself would have said, there probably wouldn't be any point to that — their minds are already made up.

Still, *Before Night Falls* is recommended reading for those who want to hear the story of a man who was only driven to becoming a dissident and fleeing the country because Castro's regime forbade him to write. It also stands as one of the best records I've seen of the persecution of gay people in Castro's Cuba.

Reinaldo Arenas was born in grinding poverty under the Batista dictatorship that administered Cuba for years on behalf of American companies. His family supported a liberal opposition party, which was eventually crushed. He was exactly the sort of person to whom Castro appealed when he launched the 1958 Revolution. Like many young people, the 15-year old Arenas joined Castro's guerrillas.

The drama of Revolution was just that; a drama, a fiction. According to Arenas, the Revolution was hollow from the beginning — founded on the myth that it would bring freedom, when all it

Arenas paints a picture of a Cuba where the dominant passion is sex. In the rural Cuba of his youth, "life in the country is lived close to nature and, therefore, to sexuality.... sexual energy generally overcomes all prejudice, repression, and punishment. That force, the force of nature, dominates. In the country, I think, it is a rare man who has not had sex with another man." The book chronicles dozens of sexual encounters in parks, beaches, public toilets and rooms. Sexual openness and freedom are tied together inextricably in Arenas' Cuba; the coercive force of the Castro regime is determined to stamp out both.

The main sexual target is, of course, gay sexuality. The macho revolutionary hero Castro and his supporters cannot tolerate open homosexuality, though to judge from Arenas' story male homosexuality is everywhere in the country. (There is little mention of lesbians, who seem not to have interacted with Arenas on many occasions. Repression against them is also there, however: the early administrators of the National Library were purged in part because many of them were lesbians.)

According to Arenas, there are four categories of gays in Cuba: those who engage in sex in public, those who are out but take no risks, those in the closet, and "the royal gay, a species unique to communist countries." These last are the ones who are friends with the people in power, and allowed to do as they please as long as they are quiet about it

recan a greater threat — his writings. In 1965 Arenas won an award from the Cuban Writers and Artists Union for his first novel, *Singing from the Well*. By 1966, he was already enough of a threat in the minds of some of the leaders of the union that his novel *The Ill-Fated Peregrinations of Fray Servando* was named the best novel of the year but given second prize, while the first prize spot was left vacant.

The way Arenas tells this story sets a running theme throughout the rest of the book — his mocking contempt for unimaginative authority. The exercise of authority becomes more brutal as the story goes on, but Arenas' mocking never lets up.

Arenas becomes friends with other gay Cuban writers, like Virgilio Pinera and Lezama Lima. Like them, he does not set out to oppose the state, but is rather the victim of increasingly rigid censorship. Eventually, he is able to find a publisher overseas, but spends years hiding manuscripts from the police. Through most of this period, however, he and his friends have no desire to leave the country. Pinera, for instance, returned to Cuba by choice after Castro came to power, unable to live elsewhere.

Arenas finally does decide to only way to be free is to leave. He fails, and is imprisoned and suffers the horrors of both political prison and a common high-security jail. But finally in 1980 he manages to escape when Castro decides

man rights for Cuba. "The difference between the communist and capitalist systems," he says, "is that, although they both give you a kick in the ass, in the communist system you have to applaud, while in the capitalist system you can scream. And I came here to scream."


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"All dictatorships are sexually repressive and anti-life," Arenas writes. "All affirmations of life are diametrically opposed to dogmatic regimes. It was logical for Fidel Castro to prosecute us, not to let us fuck, and to try to suppress any public display of the life force." None of that has changed.

## Refusing the apartheid state

Gavin Cawthra, Gerald Kraak, and Gerald O'Sullivan **War and Resistance: South African reports** MacMillan, £14.95. Reviewed by HOWARD CLARK.

 This book reports on "the struggle for Southern Africa as documented by *Resister*", the magazine of the Committee on South African War Resistance (COSAWR). COSAWR brought together white South African exiles in London and Amsterdam, most of

ing as many other footnotes as they could, they would recycle the material. I remember one ECC representative, a journalist on the *Weekly Mail*, giving rather anti-journalistic advice to Gerald Kraak of COSAWR: the more footnotes there were in *Resister* the better.

Conscription in South Africa was confined to whites, and as the 1980s progressed increasingly became a source of division within the white community. After the penalty for objection in South Africa had increased to six years' imprisonment, COSAWR was

Now I'd like to see another book looking at the experience of the South African war resisters, the dynamics of a predominantly young and male bunch of exiles and the impact of their political organising — both internationally and in the situation they had left. Exile is a very emotional experience: it wrenched my heart to meet some of the exiles when we had visitors from South Africa. How did COSAWR handle its mutual support role, or deal with some very screwed up young men, including some who had seen atrocities?

eration and mutual appreciation; there were secret meetings. WRI was able to play something of a bridging role here: I have fond memories of COSAWR activists rushing around to organise public meetings in the name of WRI where we couldn't even allow COSAWR to have a visible presence for fear of putting speakers from the ECC at risk.

The other post-*Resister* story to be told is about the return. I attended a COSAWR meeting after Mandela's release where they were talking about a mass return to challenge apartheid cooperation. In the



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 This book reports on "the struggle for Southern Africa as documented by *Resister*", the magazine of the Committee on South African War Resistance (COSAWR). COSAWR brought together white South African exiles in London and Amsterdam, most of whom were themselves resisting conscription. On its foundation in 1978, after the United Nations Resolution encouraging member states to give asylum to apartheid war resisters, one of its first acts was to found *Resister* to give voice to the war resistance movement.

Like *Resister* itself, this anthology concentrates mainly on an analysis of the changing patterns of repression within Southern Africa and the role of the military. This emphasis was of vital importance to the readers of *Resister* within South Africa. Movements inside the country could not be seen to be in touch with COSAWR, which frankly advocated refusal and desertion, but *Resister* had access to sources denied those inside. Without crediting *Resister*, but giv-

ing as many other footnotes as they could, they would recycle the material. I remember one ECC representative, a journalist on the *Weekly Mail*, giving rather anti-journalistic advice to Gerald Kraak of COSAWR: the more footnotes there were in *Resister* the better.

Conscription in South Africa was confined to whites, and as the 1980s progressed increasingly became a source of division within the white community. After the penalty for objection in South Africa had increased to six years' imprisonment, COSAWR was for a time almost the sole voice of war resistance. Only with the formation of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) in 1984 was there a movement inside the country capable of building opposition to apartheid by focusing on conscription.

This is a useful document for anyone wanting to understand militarisation in Southern Africa, and the development of resistance. But I think the editors' aims are too modest. *Resister* had clear political purposes and served them well. But, apart from a few crazy graphics (not included in this compilation), it was a bit on the dry side, reflecting more the political analysis of London COSAWR than the culture of Amsterdam COSAWR, and not giving much room for personal expression.

Now I'd like to see another book looking at the experience of the South African war resisters, the dynamics of a predominantly young and male bunch of exiles and the impact of their political organising — both internationally and in the situation they had left. Exile is a very emotional experience: it wrenched my heart to meet some of the exiles when we had visitors from South Africa. How did COSAWR handle its mutual support role, or deal with some very screwed up young men, including some who had seen atrocities?

Resisters going into exile were often very politically motivated, but often had no organising experience: what did this mean for COSAWR as an organisation with a strong discipline about its politics, if not about how it got things done? For exiles, the situation in their home country often "freezes", as it was when they left: I remember some exiled South Africans explaining that Mandela's release was just De Klerk being more subtle than Botha. How does a youth-oriented political group handle that?

Since the demise of *Resister* there are two other aspects of the story that need telling. One is an account of the relationships of the exiles with those who stayed inside the country. There were tensions and even some conflict; there was co-op-

eration and mutual appreciation; there were secret meetings. WRI was able to play something of a bridging role here: I have fond memories of COSAWR activists rushing around to organise public meetings in the name of WRI where we couldn't even allow COSAWR to have a visible presence for fear of putting speakers from the ECC at risk.

The other post-*Resister* story to be told is about the return. I attended a COSAWR meeting after Mandela's release where they were talking about a mass return to challenge apartheid conscription. In the end, a small group made a public and defiant return and I think were rather disheartened at how little notice they attracted. There was a TV programme about one of them, Fritz, who had married a black Briton. In general, the role of returned exiles in re-settling into a society and contributing to its new direction could be an important feature of many more situations.

COSAWR was important. It demonstrated some of the roles that young war resisters forced into exile can play, be they from Greece or Turkey or former-Yugoslavia. Like so many other features of the struggle against apartheid, its experience has a significance beyond South Africa.



# EVENTS and CLASSIFIED

These listings are a free service, but priority is given to free events and actions. Please send information well in advance (see deadlines on page 3). Include a contact address and phone number, indicating if these are not for publication. Please include venue information as outlined on the table below.

WF - free wheelchair access  
WA - assistance available (waiting outside) for people using wheelchairs, etc  
WR - as WA, if requested in advance  
T - wheelchair-accessible toilets  
C - information on cassette for blind and partially-sighted people  
S - signing available for people with hearing difficulties  
L - induction loop facilities for people using hearing aids  
Cr - crèche available  
Sf - smoke-free venue

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If calling a UK number from abroad, disregard the initial 0 (for either old or new dialling codes).

## ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND WALES

20-21 October: **Conference and agm** for nuclear-free local authorities, Town Hall, Manchester. NFA secretary, Town Hall, Manchester M60 2LA (tel 0161 234 3324; fax 236 8864; email nfzsc@gn.apc.org).

21-30 October: "Ten days that shook the world" **anarchist festival**, London. Anarchy in the UK '94, PO Box 1096, Bristol BS99 1BW.

22 October: **Gathering** for non-violent anarchists and anarchist pacifists, 12-6pm London. Jigsaw, 111 Magdalen Rd, Oxford OX4 (01865 793820).

22 October: **Day conference** on mediation in schools, 11am-4.30pm Friends House, Euston

Rd, London W1. NPC Education Network, 88 Islington High St, London N1 8EG (0171 354 5200).

22 October: **Anti-personnel mines conference** with Mines Advisory Group, UNA, Oxfam, and others, Coventry University, Priory St, Coventry. Bookings £10 (£4concs) to Jean Fawcett, The Old Rectory, Church Rd, Buginton, Warks CV8 3AR.

23-30 October: "People on the Move" is this year's **One World Week theme**. OWW, PO Box 100, London SE1 7RT for action pack and regional contacts.

24 October: "Anarchism, violence, and nonviolence" **workshop**, 5.30pm QIC, 1 Byng Pl, London WC1. Jigsaw, 111 Magdalen Rd, Oxford OX4 (01865 793820).

25 October: "Consensus decision-making" **workshop**, 5.30pm QIC, 1 Byng Pl, London WC1. Jigsaw, 111 Magdalen Rd, Oxford (01865 793820).

25 October: "Transatlantic slavery: against human dignity" **gallery** opens at Merseyside Maritime Museum (0151 207 0001).

26 October: **Workshop** on making meetings better, 5.30pm QIC, 1 Byng Pl, London WC1. Jigsaw, 111 Magdalen Rd, Oxford OX4 (01865 793820).

28 October: **Workshop** on the Ploughshares movement, 5pm QIC, 1 Byng Pl, London WC1. Jigsaw, 111 Magdalen Rd, Oxford OX4 (01865 793820).

29 October: "Nuclear-free world or nuclear free-for-all?" **CND national demo**, London. CND, 162 Holloway Rd, London N7 8DQ (0171 700 2393).

29 October: **Schumacher Lecture** with Wangari Maathai, Colston Hall, Colston St, Bristol BS1 5AQ. Schumacher Society, Ford Ho, Hartland, Bideford, Devon EX39 6EE (tel 01237 441621; fax 441203).

29 October: London Greenpeace **fayre**, Conway Hall, London WC1. London Greenpeace, 5 Caledonian Rd, London N1 9DX (0171 837 7557).

30 October: **Pacifists vs anti-pacifists sports day**, at the anarchist picnic, 1pm Hyde Park.

5 November: "Towards right human relations" **World Goodwill day conference** 10.30am-5.30pm Regents College, London N1. World Goodwill, Lucis Trust, Ste 54, 3 Whitehall Ct, London SW1A

2EF (tel 0171 839 4512; fax 839 5575).

5 November: **Labour CND agm** and day school, 10.30am-4.30pm SOAS, Malet St, London WC1. LCND, c/o 29 Stodmarsh Ho, Cowley Est, London SW9 6HH (0171 820 9709).

5 November: **Medical Action for Global Security conference** on climate change, 9.30am-4.45pm Royal Society of Medicine, 1 Wimpole St, London W1M 8AE. Medact, 601 Holloway Rd, London N19 4DJ (0171 272 2020).

5 November: "Play gives a meaning to existence" **London Anarchist Forum meeting**, 8pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, London WC1R 4RL.

5-6 November: "Who runs the world" **conference** on IMF and World Bank, London. Third World First, 217 Cowley Rd, Oxford OX4 1XG (01865 245678).

6 November: **Red Rumbles walk**: meet Griffins Head pub, Swithland, Leics 11am. Red Rumbles (01773 827513).

6 November: **Socialist conference**, Manchester Town Hall (0800 581611).

11 November: **London Anarchist Forum general discussion**, 8pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, London WC1R 4RL.

11 November: **Remembrance Day concert** for rehabilitation of landmine victims, 7.30pm St James's Piccadilly, 197 Piccadilly, London W1 (0171 437 5053).

11 November: **Training** for mass trespass at BAe Warton (part of 12 Nov Day of Action, below). Stop the Hawk Deal, c/o 6 Mount St, Manchester M2 5NS (Tricia 0161 860 4469).

11-13 November: "What threatens peace?" **workshop** at Peace House, The Old Manse, Greenloving, Perthshire FK15 0NB (01786 880490).

11-14 November: **Anti-nuclear camp** at Sellafeld on 20th anniversary of Karen Silkwood's death. Shut Sellafeld, Dept 66, 1 Newton St, Manchester M1 1HW (01706 371387).

12 November: **Day of Action** on BAe Hawk sales to Indonesia, to mark anniversary of Santa Cruz massacre, East Ti-

mor. Actions planned at BAe Warton, Brough, and Stevenage as well as protests/vigils elsewhere in the country. Stop the Hawks Deal, PO Box 2349, London E1 (0171 252 7937).

12 November: **Memorial service** for victims of the Santa Cruz massacre, St Aloysius Church, Phoenix Rd, London NW1. British Coalition for East Timor (0171 639 4700).

12 November: **Conference** of East Midlands anarchists, Derby Rainbow Centre, 88 Abbey St, Derby. Enquiries Box CMAB, 88 Abbey St.

13 November: **White poppy wreath-laying**, the Cenotaph, London. Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh St, London WC1 (0171 387 5501).

13 November: **Day school** on immigration controls, E Oxford community centre, Oxford. Information 01865 715921.

18 November: "The belief in politics" **London Anarchist Forum discussion**, 8pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, London WC1R 4RL.

20 November: **Benefit** for Mordechai Vanunu, Jacksons Lane community centre, 269a Archway Rd, London N6.

25 November: **London Anarchist Forum general discussion**, 8pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, London WC1R 4RL.

25-27 November: **Ploughshares support network gathering**, Hill End, Oxford. Details 18 Chesholm Rd, London N16 (0171 275 9150).

26 November: "How to campaign" **one-day workshop**, London. Workshops for political empowerment, PO Box 3724, London N16 6HY.

27-28 November: **Peace Forest Planting** throughout Britain and other countries. Local contact names from International Peace Forest, PO Box 7, Stroud, Glos GL5 1JQ.

28 November - 2 December: **Prejudice reduction and conflict resolution workshop** for trainers and leaders, Leicester. National Coalition Building Institute, 75 Colby Rd, Leicester LE4 8LG (tel/fax 0116 269 5910).

9 December: **London Anarchist**

## REGULAR EVENTS (England, Scotland, Wales)

Every Monday: **Picket** for lifting of sanctions against Iraq, outside Foreign Office, Whitehall, 5.30-7pm. ARROW, c/o David Polden, CND, 162 Holloway Rd, London N7 8DQ (0171 607 2302).

Every Tuesday: **Vigil** in defence of the Yanomami, Brazilian Embassy, 32 Green St, London W1. Survival International, 310 Edgware Rd, London W2 1DY (0171 723 5535).

Every Friday: **London Anarchist Forum discussion**, 8pm Conway Hall, 25 Red Lion Sq, London WC1R 4RL.

Every Friday: **Nonviolent prayer vigil** against all forms of arms trade outside DESO office, Stuart House, Soho Square. Mary Ann (0171 987 1552) or Roger (0181 303 4074).

Every Friday: **Vigil** for East Timor, Parliament St, York. York CAAT c/o Annabel (01904 416997).

Every Friday: **Vigil** against Trident, Buchanan Street, Glasgow, 5-6pm. Philip (0141 339 5372). [T]

Every Friday: **Vigil** for a nuclear-free world, New Market Place, Bradford, 4.30-5.30pm. Y&H CND, 22 Edmund St, Bradford, W Yorks BD5 0BH (01274 730795).

Every Friday: **Women's vigil** at nuclear weapons component plant, AWE Cardiff (formerly AWE Llanishen), South Glamorgan, 7-8am. Margery (01222 753961).

Every Saturday: **Vigil** for release of Mordechai Vanunu, near Israeli embassy on Kensington High St opposite end of Palace Green W8. Campaign to Free Vanunu and for a Nuclear-Free Middle East (0171 387 5096).

First and third Thursday of every month: **Communities against Toxics meeting**, SACOA, Methuen St, Southampton. Enquiries 01703 550159 or 636080.

First weekend of every month: **mixed peace camp** at Menwith Hill, N Yorks. Annie (01943 466405).

Second weekend of every month: **Women's peace camp**, Falcon Gate, AWE Aldermaston, Berkshire (tel Jean 01993 703811).

Third weekend of every month: **Women's peace camp**, Menwith Hill. Information Anne Lee, 8 Somerville Tce, Otley, W Yorks LS21 1HS.

Last full weekend of every month: **Women's peace camp**, Sellafeld.

First Tuesday of every month: **Vigil** outside main gate of AWE Burghfield. Wokingham Peace Campaign.

Third Tuesday of every month: **Stop the Hawk Deal meeting**, Manchester. One World Centre, 6 Mount St, Manchester M2 5NS for details.

Last Thursday of each month: **Vigil** for Chittagong hill tract tribal peoples, at Bangladesh High Commission, 28 Queens Gate, London SW7, 12-2pm. Survival International, 310 Edgware Rd, London W2 (0171 723 5535).

Last Friday of every month: "Critical Mass" **bike-in** in central London. Meet NFT piazza, South Bank, 5.45pm.

First Saturday of every month: **Vigil** at RAF Kineton, Oxfordshire. Ann (01295 258211).

Last Saturday of every month: **Demo** at Campsfield refugee detention centre, Oxfordshire. Campaign to Close Campsfield (01865 724452 or 726804).

First Sunday of every month: "Red rumbles in Derbyshire" **alternative walks**. Red Rumbles (01773 827513).

Second Sunday of every month: **Multifaith vigil** for racial justice and peace, east London, 3pm: venues vary. IFoR, c/o 170 Harold Rd, London E13 0SE (0181 472 2785).

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## INTERNATIONAL

20-22 October: International Peace Bureau conference, Barcelona. Fundació per la Pau, Pau Claris 89, entresol 2a, E-08010 Barcelona, Catalunya (tel +34 3 302 5129; fax 301 7562).

22 October: "Pacifism and intervention" 't kan anders congress, Hilversum. 't kan anders, Vlamingsstr 82, NL-2611 LA Delft, Netherlands (tel/fax +31 15 121694).

28-30 October: Eighth Eurotopia assembly, Riga, Latvia. Eurotopia, Berne, Switzerland (tel +41 31 311 0555; fax 311 0569).

31 October - 4 November: International Peace Research Association conference, Malta. ACTEL Malta, 194b Tower Rd, Sliema SLM 09 Malta (tel +356 320554; fax 320557).

4-6 November: Assembly of the Peace People, Ashleigh Hall, Windsor Ave, Belfast. Fredheim, 224 Lisburn Rd, Belfast BT9 6GE, Northern Ireland (tel +44 1232 663465; fax 683947).

4-10 November: World Conference on Religion and Peace assembly, Italy. WCRP, 777 UN Plaza, New York NY

Third Tuesday of every month: Stop the Hawk Deal meeting, Manchester. One World Centre, 6 Mount St, Manchester M2 5NS for details.

Last Thursday of each month: Vigil for Chittagong hill tract tribal peoples, at Bangladesh High Commission, 28 Queens Gate, London SW7, 12-2pm. Survival International, 310 Edgware Rd, London W2 (0171 723 5535).

Last Friday of every month: "Critical Mass" bike-in in central London. Meet NFT piazza, South Bank, 5.45pm.

First Saturday of every month: Vigil at RAF Kineton, Oxfordshire. Ann (01295 258211).

Last Saturday of every month: Demo at Campsfield refugee detention centre, Oxfordshire. Campaign to Close Campsfield (01865 724452 or 726804).

First Sunday of every month: "Red rambles in Derbyshire" alternative walks. Red Rumbles (01773 827513).

Second Sunday of every month: Multifaith vigil for racial justice and peace, east London, 3pm: venues vary. IFoR, c/o 170 Harold Rd, London E13 0SE (0181 472 2785).

## CLASSIFIED

**CLASSIFIED RATES:** 15p per word (incl VAT); £2.75 per column-cm for semi-display (incl VAT); series discount 10% for 6 or more insertions. Please enclose full payment with your advertisement and send to Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd, London N1 9DX.

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### PERSONAL

• **MAKE FRIENDS AND INFLUENCE PEOPLE!** Join the happy band of Peace

### ANNOUNCEMENTS

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**THE BIGGEST RANGE** of books, pamphlets, cards, magazines — *peace, green, gay, feminist, anarchist, alternativist, left, etc.*

At **HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP**, 5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London N1 (tel 0171-837 4473).

Only 1 minute from Kings Cross stations. **PLEASE NOTE** experimental extended opening hours: Housmans is currently

dead - including civilians, and "enemies" too - and to show a commitment to oppose future wars, join the white poppy wreath-laying at the Cenotaph, Whitehall, London SW1, after the military-style state event. Meet in the courtyard of St Martin-in-the-Fields Church, Trafalgar Square, by 1.30pm, for a silent walk to the Cenotaph. Details: Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh St, London WC1 (tel 0171-387 5501).

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• **PEACE BRIGADES INTERNATIONAL** needs Spanish-speaking volunteers for its Guatemala pro-

catering. Inexpensive rooms sharing writer's remote farmhouse. Discounts unwaged. (01229) 716612.

### PUBLICATIONS

• **THE 1995 HOUSMANS PEACE DIARY & WORLD PEACE DIRECTORY** is now available. Price held for another year! Only £5.50; + 60p p&p inland, or air to Europe, or surface mail elsewhere. Housmans, 5 Caledonian Rd, London N1, UK (tel 44-171-837 4473 for credit card orders). For further details, including \$ prices, bulk discounts, and cost of airmail shipment to destinations outside Europe, write or phone straight away.

• **BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND BROADSHEETS** are available from Peace News and from WRI. Write to 5 Caledonian Road, London N1, for publications lists.

### CLOTHING

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**SINGING FOR OUR LIVES**  
Raised Voices street

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3 December: **International No Shopping Day**. Manchester Anticonsumerism Campaign, 6 Mount St, Manchester M2 5NS.



793820)  
22 October: Day conference on mediation in schools, 11am-4.30pm Friends House, Euston

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• **MAKE FRIENDS AND INFLUENCE PEOPLE!** Join the happy band of *Peace News* sellers. It's risk-free (you only have to pay for the copies you sell), and you can keep 20% of that! (Or much more than 20% if you're a student/unwaged, and/or sell large quantities!) Let us know how many you'd like — either for a one-off event, or regularly. Details from: *Peace News*, 5 Caledonian Rd, London N1 9DX.

• **A LEGACY FOR PEACE.** If you are writing or revising your will, and want to support the work of War Resisters' International, please contact us for further information. WRI, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX (tel 0171-278 4040).

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### MEETINGS

• **CABOT CENTRE:** Ongoing Dance, Drama, Ki-Aikido, Psychotherapy, Yoga & Massage, and other one-to-one/groups. Rooms to let, favourable rates. 41 Battlebridge Rd, Kings Cross, London NW1. Tel: 0171-833 0570.

### EVENTS

• **ALTERNATIVE REMEMBRANCE SUNDAY EVENT - SUNDAY 13 NOVEMBER.** To remember all the war

dead — including civilians, and "enemies" too — and to show a commitment to oppose future wars, join the white poppy wreath-laying at the Cenotaph, Whitehall, London SW1, after the military-style state event. Meet in the courtyard of St-Martin-in-the-Fields Church, Trafalgar Square, by 1.30pm, for a silent walk to the Cenotaph. Details: Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh St, London WC1 (tel 0171-387 5501).

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### ACCOMMODATION

• **WANT TO LIVE COMMUNALLY?** Community in Bow, east London, seeks new members. Vegetarian, non-smoking. Big garden; very near Bow Road Underground. Phone 0181-981 0480.

### HOLIDAYS

• **LAKES (Duddon).** Self-

catering. Inexpensive rooms sharing writer's remote farmhouse. Discounts unwaged. (01229) 716612.

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### BADGES, STICKERS, & OTHER GOODS

• **PEACE CONCERN.** We supply a large range of CND badges, stickers and other support materials. Send 29p SAE for FREE catalogue to Peace Concern, Bakers Hill Cottage, Defford Road, Pershore, Worcs, WR10 3BZ.

• **BROKEN RIFLE BADGES.** Wear the international symbol of radical pacifism. Attractive die-cast metal badges, price £1.50 each (including postage). Bulk orders £60 per hundred (plus postage). Available from WRI, 5 Caledonian Rd, London N1 9DX.

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• **"WAR IS NOT HEALTHY** for children and other living things" T-shirts. Small, medium, large or extra-large; red-on-grey or black-on-yellow. £7.50 (incl postage), inland; £8.50 Sterling (incl postage) by air worldwide. PPU, 6 Endsleigh St, London WC1, Britain.

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### WANTED

#### SINGING FOR OUR LIVES Raised Voices street choir welcomes new members.

Raised Voices is a mixed choir that takes part in a wide variety of political events: demos, benefit concerts and rallies.

It's open to anyone who supports the aims of the choir, enjoys singing, and can make a commitment to attend rehearsals in central London.

For more information, contact: Mick, tel 0171-249 5139.

stigate, 75 Colby Rd, Leicester LE4 8LG (tel/fax 0116 269 5910).

9 December: London Anarchist

## INTERNATIONAL

20-22 October: International Peace Bureau conference, Barcelona. Fundació per la Pau, Pau Claris 89, entresol 2a, E-08010 Barcelona, Catalunya (tel +34 3 302 5129; fax 301 7562).

22 October: "Pacifism and intervention" 't kan anders congress, Hilversum. 't kan anders, Vlamingsstr 82, NL-2611 LA Delft, Netherlands (tel/fax +31 15 121694).

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8-12 November: Seminar on intercultural conflict, De Expeditie, Schimmelpenninck-kade 30, NL-3813 AE Amersfoort, Netherlands (+31 33 753001).

9 November: Anniversary of "Kristallnacht"; International Day against Fascism and Antisemitism. United, PB 413, NL-1000 AK Amsterdam, Netherlands (tel +31 20 683 4778; fax 683 4582).

11-13 November: Seminar on local democracy, Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina. Foreign participants meet Split 9 November, returning 15 November, travelling under UNPROFOR protection with stops in Mostar and Zenica. Helsinki Citizens Assembly, Prague (+42 2 323259); Tuzla Citizen's Forum, Tuzla (+387 75 221119).

12 November: 3rd anniversary of Santa Cruz cemetery massacre, East Timor. Protests in Portugal, Canada, Australia, USA, Germany; contact local solidarity groups for details.

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3 December: International No Shopping Day. Manchester Anticonsumerism Campaign, 6 Mount St, Manchester M2 5NS.

10-17 December: War Resisters' International triennial, São Leopoldo, Brazil. WRI, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX, England (tel +44 171 278 4040; fax 278 0444).

15-18 December: "Lesbian politics — just a lifestyle?" conference at Evangelische Akademie, Bad Boll, Germany (+49 7164 790; fax 79440).

Every Wednesday: (ex-Yugoslav) Women in Black vigils in Belgrade, Pancevo, Novi Sad, and other towns (including Vienna, Lund, Nürnberg, Palma, Sevilla, Paris, Verona, Firenze, Rome, New York ... check locally for time and venue).

Every Friday: Women in Black vigils in Israeli cities (the Jerusalem vigil is, however, suspended at present) and internationally.



## LETTERS

## Campaign

We welcome your letters, but please keep them concise. \* indicates a letter has been edited. *Peace News*, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX, England (fax +44 171/0171 278 0444).

### Where to turn for help in Tel Aviv

In the October *Peace News* there was a report on an Israeli conscientious objector, Ayrton Kalimulin, who is in hiding from Israeli military police. Like other conscientious objectors to military service in Israel, Ayrton turned to Toma Sik for advice and assistance.

For many years now Toma has worked tirelessly to help conscientious objectors in Israel. When I was visiting Palestine and Israel a few weeks ago I called in on Toma. My visit coincided with his weekly meeting for resisters. Present that evening were three teenagers who were seeking legal advice and moral support in their efforts to be recognised as conscientious objectors. Also present were a man and a woman who Toma had helped back in the '70s.

Toma works from his flat in central Tel Aviv as an unpaid counsellor for war resisters and as a full-time peace activist. He plays a central role in the network of activists in Gush Shalom and works one day a week with a Bedouin action group in the south of Israel. The only income he receives is NIS 400 (equivalent to around £100) a month from his work with the Bedouins. He gets most of his food from markets in Tel Aviv where he collects fruit and vegetables that can no longer be sold. As a militant secularist/humanist Toma gets no financial support from any religious organisations — and he is finding it increasingly difficult to make ends meet. He is behind with his rent, he can't afford to get his second-hand computer repaired, and he is in desperate need of a fax machine.

Toma doesn't know I am writing this letter, but I thought I might use this opportunity to express my appreciation for his work.

encounter such difficulty in having their voices heard these days is that our audience is for the most part half dead from the neck up. The other half is, as Jon Carpenter put it (letters, *PN* Oct 1994), so obsessed with "an all-powerful and corrupt economics" that there is minimal perceived need for new thinking of any kind. It has not always been so. In the 18th century, people bought Tom Paine's revolutionary pamphlets by the thousand. The whole place was seething with revolutionary thought and people respected and discussed new ideas. When the first copies of the original German text of *The Communist Manifesto* were run off a London press in 1848, few could have foreseen that this short tract of a mere 12,000 words would change the world and our whole concept of politics and society. This was achieved without the help of highbrow reviewers, efficient distributors or bookselling monopolies.

The deeper needs mentioned by Jon are far more subtle than the more obvious ones, far harder to articulate without resorting to the kind of language that seems to belong to the old order. However, a profound shift in consciousness is taking place now, sometimes evident in very surprising quarters. But this does not follow the usual high-profile, visible format of past revolutions. So it is quite easy to assume that no change in thought is taking place. The essence of the present change could be summed up in the one word: "interconnectedness". We are moving away from a Separate And Disconnected (SAD) view of the world, to a more integrated view, where our deeper needs can also be met. If we get the timing right, in articulating these needs, we'll keep the accountants happy as well as changing the world.  
**John-Francis Phipps, Wantage, Oxon, England**

Learning about direct action

shop on "stepping stones to Ploughshares actions".

I'll be there and I hope other *PN* readers will attend — then maybe we'll read more about direct acts of disarmament and know that the world is getting better.

**Michael Bane, Manchester, England**

See events listings for further details.

### Escalation or evil

The tragedy of former-Yugoslavia brought contention and division to the peace and human rights community concerning the causes and solutions of the war. This is primarily because of the underlying tension between, on the one hand, all the processes which escalate conflict — demonisation of the enemy, poor communication, the escalating cycle of fear, hatred, violence, and so forth — and on the other hand the recognition of the authenticity of evil and the necessity of forceful action against it as the very last resort. The former viewpoint will argue that resolution and prevention of conflict requires placing barriers on the processes of escalation. In contrast, the latter perspective will emphasise the distinction between victims and aggressors, between aggression and self-defence.

**Andrew Pakula, Willowdale, Ontario, Canada**

### With Peace on Our Wings

50 Years  
of  
Resistance  
to  
The Bomb



War Resisters League  
1995 Peace Calendar

1 December is **Prisoners for Peace Day**. The December issue of *Peace News* will carry the full honour roll of prisoners for peace, together with campaign suggestions and background information. But don't wait for the next *Peace News* to start organising a local activity — be it a card-sending campaign, an information stall, or a picket or delegation to an embassy. **War Resisters' International, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX, England** (tel +44 171 278 4040; fax 278 0444).

The National Peace Council's **1995 Wallplanner** is indispensable for anyone concerned with social change. Next year's anniversaries provide a particular focus for the peace movement, and this A1 sized, full colour Wallplanner has made innovative use of design to represent the myriad opportunities for celebration, commemoration — and campaigning — throughout the year.

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And it definitely is time to starting making your plans for 1995: in December, the **1995 Pilgrimage for Peace and Life** leaves Oswiecim (Auschwitz) for the 8-month journey to Hiroshima. The pilgrimage is sponsored by Nipponzan Myohoji, with participation by members of all faiths. Details from **Rev Cato, Peace Pagoda, 100 Cave Hill Rd, Leverett MA 01054 USA** (tel +1 413 367 2202; fax 367 9369). Before the walkers leave, there will be a four-day convocation organised by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation: enquiries to **Paula Green, 49 Richardson Rd, Leverett MA 01054 USA** (tel/fax +1 413 367 9520).



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Andrew Rigby, Bradford, England

### Making change

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John-Francis Phipps, Wantage, Oxon, England

### Learning about direct action

Your publication rightly covers all aspects of peace - the IRA ceasefire, the latest news from war zones and demonstrations for peace. I believe it is only occasionally that we hear of direct acts of peace making, whether Turkish conscientious objectors or personal acts of disarmament.

I presume there are many people who feel like converting swords into ploughshares who are either fearful of the risks and consequences or are unaware of where to start and how to get support. Therefore, it is with great interest that I hear of the "Ploughshares Support Network Gathering" in Oxford at the end of November. Not only will there be introductions to the ploughshares movement, workshops on support groups, a debate on symbolic versus maximum damage/disarmament, but also a work-

conflict — demonisation of the enemy, poor communication, the escalating cycle of fear, hatred, violence, and so forth — and on the other hand the recognition of the authenticity of evil and the necessity of forceful action against it as the very last resort. The former viewpoint will argue that resolution and prevention of conflict requires placing barriers on the processes of escalation. In contrast, the latter perspective will emphasise the distinction between victims and aggressors, between aggression and self-defence.

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With Messages from the Mayors of  
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Excellent resource for teachers!

5½ x 8½" desk calendar; 128 pages; spiral bound; includes international peace action resources

**\$12.00 each; Four for \$44.00**

(Add \$1.50 for delivery outside the U.S. NY state residents include sales tax. In U.S., allow 4 weeks for delivery or enclose \$1.50 per calendar for first class delivery. Write for bulk rates and distributors.)

Order from: War Resisters League  
339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012

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■ News of a much more low-key campaign to remember the past comes to us from Croydon. Local pacifist and conscientious objector Charles John Cobb died in 1919 from injuries sustained in prison, and was buried in an unmarked grave. In 1988, an appeal was launched — in *Peace News*, among other places — for an inscribed headstone. Unfortunately, the then-powers-that-be on Croydon borough council objected to the intended inscription, so an edited version was produced instead. Six years on, a more sensible council is prepared to let the original wording stand. But the **Charles John Cobb Memorial Appeal Fund** needs £250 to re-inscribe the stone; donations can be sent to the Fund at **20 Stretton Rd, Croydon CR0 6EP, England**.

## WHAT ARE YOU DOING NEXT YEAR?

### Worried about the spread of nuclear weapons?

At the moment countries with nuclear weapons tell

☐ Yes I want to join CND - please fill in the form below or ring our membership hotline on 0171 700 2393



desperate need of a fax machine.

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tional Fellowship of Reconciliation. enquiries to **Paula Green, 49 Richardson Rd, Leverett MA 01054 USA** (tel/fax +1 413 367 9520).

News of a much more low-key campaign to remember the past comes to us from Croydon. Local pacifist and conscientious objector Charles John Cobb died in 1919 from injuries sustained in prison, and was buried in an unmarked grave. In 1988, an appeal was launched — in *Peace News*, among other places — for an inscribed headstone. Unfortunately, the then-powers-that-be on Croydon borough council objected to the intended inscription, so an edited version was produced instead. Six years on, a more sensible council is prepared to let the original wording stand. But the **Charles John Cobb Memorial Appeal Fund** needs £250 to re-inscribe the stone; donations can be sent to the Fund at **20 Stretton Rd, Croydon CR0 6EP, England**.

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